THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE organisation of the Geological Expedition, which was announced in July, has occupied the attention of the Committee during the summer. They have been so fortunate as to secure the services of Professor Hull, F.R.S., the Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland; he will be accompanied by his son, Dr. E. Gordon Hull, as Assistant Geologist, and Medical Officer to the party. Captain Kitchener, R.E., who is now in Egypt, has received permission to employ his leave in accompanying the party. Two volunteers, Mr. Henry Hart (who has received a grant from the Irish Academy for botanical research) and Mr. Reginald Lawrence, will also accompany Professor Hull.

As regards the route, the first part will be across the Sinai Desert from Suez to Akabah, whence they will travel north by the Wâdy Arabah, to the south end of the Dead Sea. The key to the geological problems of the whole country lies in this little-known region. The party will afterwards visit Moab, along the border of which country the Nubian sandstone comes to the surface. Opportunity will be, of course, taken by the officers to make notes as to the topographical features of the Wâdy Arabah, and to examine as much as possible into the various Biblical questions which belong to the district. A summary of these has been prepared for the party by Colonel Sir Charles Wilson.

It is calculated that the cost of the whole expedition, including that of publishing the results, will be under £2,000. Any who wish their subscriptions specially devoted to this work should state their desire to the Secretary. A form of subscription is enclosed.

The late Mrs. Anne Jay, of the Villa Bertolini, Lausanne, Switzerland, who died on June 10th last, has left a legacy of £2,000 to this Society. The bequest will not, however, be available in time for the new expedition.

The investigation into the Shapira manuscripts has created a great deal of interest during the last three months. A narrative of the affair, together with the letters and reports of M. Clermont Ganneau, Captain Conder, Dr. Neubauer, and Professor Sayce, with the report of Dr. Ginsburg to Dr. Bond, will be found in this number.

A paper has been contributed by M. Clermont-Ganneau, to the "Revue Critique," on the names of the personages associated in early mediæval art with the Crucifixion. "St. Longinus," the soldier with the spear, got his name, M. Ganneau shows, from the spear itself, λόγχη. The penitent thief, St. Dysmas, may be, he thinks, a corruption of εἰς τὰς δυσμάς—*i.e.*, the west—derived from the representations of the sun and moon found in primitive pictures of the Crucifixion. The name of the impenitent thief—Gestas—is possibly the remaining εἰς τὰς. The soldier who bore the sponge is sometimes called Stephaton, which, M. Ganneau thinks, is derived from a misreading of the word σπίγγον.

The September number of the "Contemporary Review" contains a remarkable paper by Professor Sayce on the Gods of Canaan.

Canon Tristram's volume on the "Flora and Fauna of Western Palestine" is rapidly advancing. The author thinks there is no reason why the book should not be ready before the end of the year. The illustrations are ready: they comprise six plates of mammals, seven of birds, twelve of fishes and reptiles, and one of gastropods.

As regards the Jerusalem volume, that, it is hoped, will also be ready about the same time. The drawings are nearly all completed with the exception of those to illustrate M. Clermont Ganneau's work.

Captain Conder's "Heth and Moab," being a popular account of his recent campaign and discoveries, will be ready this month (October). As in the case of "Tent-Work in Palestine," a considerable reduction in the price will be made or subscribers *only by application to the office in Adam Street.*

The only authorised lecturers for the Society are—

(1) The Rev. Henry Geary, Vicar of St. Thomas's, Portman Square. His lectures are on the following subjects :—
The Survey of Western Palestine, as illustrating Bible History.
Palestine East of the Jordan.
The Jerusalem Excavations.
A Restoration of Ancient Jerusalem.

(2) The Rev. James King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick. His subjects are as follows :—
The Survey of Western Palestine.
Jerusalem.
The Hittites.
The Moabite Stone and other monuments.

The income of the Society, from June 25th to September 30th inclusive, amounted in all, including subscriptions, lectures, and payment for maps, memoirs, and publications, to £576 6*s.* 11*d.*

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

THE GEOLOGY OF PALESTINE.

(*The following summary of geological work hitherto accomplished in Palestine is abridged from Professor Huddleston's Address to the Geologists' Association, Vol. VIII, No. I.*)

As a direct result of the great Napoleonic wars, the commencement of the present century was not favourable to the investigation of distant countries, and the records of travel are consequently but few. It is, however, a fact that about this period certain parties in England formed a kind of association for the exploration of Palestine, and there is a tradition that agents were sent out, who failed, in the then disturbed state of affairs, to reach the Holy Land.

Shortly after the conclusion of the general peace which resulted from the crowning victory of Waterloo, great efforts were made by most European States to extend geographical knowledge. In the direction of Arabia and Palestine our fellow-countrymen, Irby and Mangles, were not long in availing themselves of the recently acquired opportunity, and about the same date Burkhardt commenced his classical researches. Soon afterwards there was a renewal in England of the attempts to form an association for the exploration of Palestine, but somehow the attempt fell through, although a certain amount of money was collected for the purpose. The balance of this fund, amounting to upwards of £130, was handed over to the Royal Geographical Society in 1834.[1]

The decade from 1830 to 1840 may be said to have witnessed the first serious attempts to describe the *geology* of Palestine and the neighbouring countries. The oldest of these really geological works is that by Botta, entitled "Observations on Lebanon and anti-Lebanon," published in the Memoirs of the Geological Society of France,[2] 1833.

The year 1837 was rendered memorable for the important discoveries then made. Dr. Roth, a Bavarian, brought from Judæa a series of fossils, many of which have since been described by Dr. Fraas. But the great discovery of all was the recognition of the depression of the Dead Sea basin, a circumstance which had escaped the notice of Burkhardt and all the earlier travellers. It is difficult to believe, at this time of day, that not only were the writers of antiquity ignorant of this most important feature, but that even modern men of science, five-and-forty years ago, were equally in the dark on the subject. Several names are mentioned in connection with this discovery, and amongst others the names of two Englishmen, Messrs. Moore and Beck, who published an account in the "Journal of the Royal Geogra-

[1] It appears that the "Palestine Association" held a meeting on the 24th April, 1805; but that, in the interval from 1809 to 1834, no steps were taken by the Association. On the 28th January, 1834, a meeting was held, Mr. Bartle Frere being in the chair, when the sum of £135 9*s.* 8*d.*, being the balance of the funds, was disposed of as stated in our text.

[2] 1st ser., vol. i, p. 135.

phical Society" for 1837. There was some difference in the earlier estimates of the amount of depression; but, to anticipate, I may say that the figure fixed upon by the surveyors of the Palestine Exploration Fund is 1,292 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

The Biblical Researches of Dr. Robinson, an American clergyman of great learning, published about this period, contain much valuable physical information, which was materially supplemented by a posthumous work, entitled "Physical Geography of the Holy Land." Russegger, an Austrian mining engineer in the employment of Mehemet Ali, travelled in Egypt and Nubia, and subsequently in Sinai, Palestine, and the Lebanon, though his principal work was not published till some time afterwards.

1840–1850. Stimulated by the remarkable discoveries which had been recently made, and encouraged, perhaps, by the success of their learned fellow-countryman, Dr. Robinson, the Americans seemed to have taken up the subject of the geology and physical geography of Palestine with much zeal. In 1843 appeared an important paper by Hitchcock,[1] who, although personally unacquainted with the country, put together the notes and examined the specimens forwarded by certain American missionaries with such sagacity that, as M. Lartet cynically remarks, he was able to give a better account of its structure than the majority of Eastern travellers, whether before or since that time.

Undoubtedly the most remarkable effort of this decade was the celebrated United States Exploring Expedition under Lieutenant Lynch.[2] In April, 1848, the party descended the Jordan in boats from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea, and to them we owe the first thoroughly reliable information respecting these two sheets of water and the river which connects them. So tortuous is the bed of the Jordan that, within the space of 65 miles, the river was found to traverse a distance of at least 200 miles. Considerable difficulties were experienced from shallows and rapids, but these were finally surmounted, and the two metal boats which contained the party entered the Dead Sea on the 18th April. This was probably the first time that the Jordan had been navigated the entire distance between the two lakes.[3] Under the superintendence of Dr. Anderson a large collection of fossils was made during this expedition, chiefly from the Lebanon, and from certain localities in Western Palestine. Many of these were subsequently described and figured by Conrad in the official report.

With this expedition all doubts as to the true physical structure of the great *fissure*, known as the Ghor, extending from the hollow of Syria to the Red Sea, were terminated. The weird and unwholesome nature of the place, and the strange traditions with which it was associated, had

[1] "Assoc. of American Geologists," p. 369, Boston, 1843.

[2] The official report was published at Baltimore in 1852.

[3] The banks of the river at the termination of its course were found to consist of red clay and mud; soundings gave a depth of 7 feet, with muddy bottom; width of river 80 yards; current three knots per hour. At the actual embouchure the river was found to be 180 yards wide and 3 feet deep.

long enveloped the *Lacus asphaltitis* in a haze of mystery akin to the fogs which a copious evaporation sometimes causes to hang over its waters. Opinions might be divided, as they still are, on the causes which have produced this remarkable fissure, but the leading facts of its physical structure had at length been obtained, and thus the way was paved for the study of its geology.

The decade extending from 1850 to 1860 does not appear to have been marked by any great expedition having reference to those subjects, but the succeeding ten years were very fruitful in discovery, and the investigations of that period may be said to have formed the staple of our information up to the present day. The most important works are "Aus dem Orient," by Dr. Fraas, of Stuttgart, published in 1867, and M. Louis Lartet's essay on "The Geology of Palestine," published in 1869.[1] It is from these two works, but more especially from the latter, that this communication has, in the main, been compiled.

M. Lartet accompanied the Duc de Luynes in his expedition to Palestine during the spring and early summer of 1864. Lieutenant Vignes assisted in the navigation on the Dead Sea, and published a narrative of the journey conformably to the instructions of the Duke himself. The party having made a short excursion into the Lebanon, passed by way of Galilee and Samaria to Jerusalem, whence they proceeded to embark on the Dead Sea in the iron vessel "Ségor." A thorough examination of the Dead Sea and its shores was the result, thus supplementing the observations made by Lynch's party sixteen years previously. Precautions were especially taken for obtaining specimens of the water for analysis from various depths by means of an apparatus which is described and figured in Lartet's work. These results were of great value. After spending a month on the Dead Sea, the party ascended the right bank of the Jordan, about half-way to the Lake of Tiberias, and thence returned by the left bank; thence to the mountains of Ammon and Moab, which they were the first to examine scientifically.

A second visit from Jerusalem was made to the Dead Sea by way of the mountains of Judæa, and thence along the Arabah to the watershed, the altitude of which was determined barometrically by M. Vignes. The hollow south of this watershed, or ledge, usually known as the Wâdy Akabah, was found to be little else than a desert of sand, sometimes in motion, sometimes cemented by saline incrustations. The rocks of the Mount Seir range presented opportunities for studying the granites, &c., so extensively developed in Sinai and Egypt, but which are wanting in Palestine. Having reached the Gulf of Akabah, they returned north by way of Mount Hor and Petra, and then, crossing the Arabah obliquely, passed over the calcareous plateaux which form the continuation of the desert of the Tîh to the south of the mountains of Judæa. A second

[1] As M. Lartet's voyage was made in 1864, there are numerous notices by this author previous to 1869. See "Bull. Soc. Géol. de France," 2nd ser., vol. xxii, p. 420 (1865); *id.*, p. 537; *id.*, p. 719; *op. cit.*, vol. xxiv, p. 12 (1866).

expedition was made into the trans-Jordan district, attended with much success in the discovery of cretaceous fossils. Finally, having traversed the basaltic flows of the Jaulan (*Gaulanitis*), the sources of the Jordan itself were inspected, and especially the Hasbâny, its longest, if not its most copious, branch.

I have been thus particular in describing the route of M. Lartet from February to June, because his journey has been more productive of geological information than any other as yet undertaken. Nevertheless, our own fellow-countrymen were not idle at that period, as the notices of Messrs. Duncan, Carter, and Holland, in the "Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society," and in other publications, will show. In 1868 Mr. Bauerman also contributed a valuable paper entitled "A Geological Reconnaissance from Suez to Wâdy Feiran,"[1] and about six years afterwards Mr. Milne, another student of the School of Mines, published some important "Notes on the Sinaitic Peninsula and North-West Arabia."[2]

In the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1869 it is observed with regard to geology—"Of this we are in ignorance in almost every detail. The valley of the Jordan and basin of the Dead Sea is one of the most remarkable on the earth's surface." As observed by Murchison, "It is the key to the geology of the whole district." Hitherto no great amount of geological matter has been published in the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, although the other subjects have, for the most part, received ample illustration. Yet some of the papers by Captain Conder show that the subject of geology, and especially the question of the age and nature of the deposits of the Jordan valley, have possessed considerable attraction for him. Captain Conder's "Physical Description of the Holy Land,"[3] and his chapter on the "Jordan Valley,"[4] should be read diligently by every one who desires to become acquainted with the geology of Palestine. The 1-inch Map of Western Palestine was published by the Committee of the Exploration Fund in 1880, and they have also issued a very useful reduction, together with sections drawn to scale.

The peninsula of Sinai was surveyed by a party of Royal Engineers, under Captains Wilson and Palmer, assisted by Mr. Holland, about the year 1869, and the model of Mount Sinai now at the Indian Museum was executed about the same time.

Though scarcely geological, the admirable volume of the late Dean Stanley, and the adventurous narratives of Canon Tristram, contain much geognostic information, and as they are well illustrated and ably and pleasantly written, these works have always been in great favour with the English public.

Finally, the two greatest authorities on the geology of Palestine have within the last few years published the results of their latest information.

[1] "Quar. Journ. Geol. Soc.," vol. xxv, p. 17, *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xxxi, p. 1, *et seq.*

[3] "Handbook to the Bible," p. 205, *et seq.* (Longmans, 1880.)

[4] "Tent-Work in Palestine," p. 214. (Bentley, 1880.)

In 1877 M. Lartet summarised his knowledge in a magnificent quarto volume, well illustrated with maps, sections, and plates of fossils, entitled "La Mer Morte," and in the following year Dr. Fraas brought out the second part of "Aus dem Orient" in the shape of a "Geological Treatise on the Lebanon."

Many valuable notices, in addition to those already mentioned, are scattered up and down in the Proceedings of Societies throughout Europe and America.

HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS.

Considering how scanty the ancient Hebrew and Aramaic texts whence we may draw definite ideas of the growth of the Hebrew alphabet still are, it will perhaps be interesting to note the result of the exploration of Palestine in this respect. In 1864, Madden could only compare the Hebrew of the coins with the coffin of Eshmunazar (which dates 500–400 B.C.), the Assyrian lion-weights (750 B.C.), and the Carpentras stone and Ptolemaic papyri (300–200 B.C.) ; all his other alphabets are later than the Christian era—including the Palmyrene texts (second century A.D.), the Samaritan text (527 A.D.), the Bowls found at Babylon (fifth and seventh centuries A.D.), and the Stones from Aden (717 A.D. and 916 A.D.).

In addition to these texts, and to the Phœnician inscriptions of Marseilles, Malta, Cyprus, and Athens, together with the Jewish coins of the Hasmoñean age, we now have the Moabite Stone (876 B.C.), and the Siloam inscription (perhaps 732 B.C.), all of which are in the ancient character called "broken" in the Talmud (Tal. Jer Megilla, i, 11), and said by Rashi to be called *Libonai*, because it was used by the inhabitants of Lebanon—that is to say, by the Phœnicians. The object of the present note is to gather together the instances which show the early existence of the square character in Palestine itself ; for of the texts given by Madden, the earliest approach to the square character is found on papyri, and on a monument of Egyptian origin. The square characters are derived from the Aramaic or Syrian branch of the Phœnician alphabet, and not from that which gave birth to the Moabite, Siloam, and Hasmonean types.

Carrying our researches backwards, we must first recall the inscription at the Synagogue of Kefr Bir'îm ("Memoirs," Vol. I, p. 233). It is in square Hebrew, and the character of the building agrees with Jewish tradition in attributing the erection of the doorway to about the year 130 A.D. The position of the text forbids us to suppose that it was executed later than the time of the erection of this synagogue. This was also the opinion of Dr. Robinson ("Lat. Bib. Res.," p. 70). It may thus safely be referred to the second century A.D. To the same date belongs

the similar square Hebrew text at the Synagogue of El Jish, and the illegible fragment from Nebratein.

The tomb of the Beni Hezir at Jerusalem presents us with another valuable text. In this case also the inscription can hardly be supposed to be later than the tomb, as it is quite inaccessible ; and the tomb is most probably to be dated as earlier than the great siege (70 A.D.), since after that siege the Jews were excluded from Jerusalem down to the fourth century, whereas we know that the tomb in question was already in existence and supposed to be very ancient in 333 A.D. The Beni Hezir text is referred to about the Christian era by Du Vogüé ; it should, however, be noted that the tomb within contains only *kokim*, which points to its being of considerable antiquity, and the Hasmonean period appears to be one during which many of the finest monuments round Jerusalem were constructed. The letters in this text, though nearly approaching square Hebrew, still retain traces of the older Aramaic forms, especially in the *Aleph* and the *Cheth*, while the *He* resembles that of the Carpentras stone, as do also the *Zain*, the *Yod*, the *Shin*. This text is the earliest and most important square text yet known in Palestine, and contains seventeen letters of the alphabet.

Another tomb near that of the Judges, north of Jerusalem, appears to belong to the same period, having an inscription in two lines, but giving no additional letters.

Jewish tombstones have been discovered in the Crimea with square characters, having the dates 702 and 726 of the Galuth (see "Transactions Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. III, p. 27). The Galuth of Jeconiah (Ezek, xxix, 17 ; xxx, 20) dates from 589 B.C., which would make these tombstones as early as 113 A.D. and 137 A.D. ; a third dates from 785 of the Galuth, or 196 A.D. The genuineness of these tombstones is not disputed, but the era to which they have been ascribed by some writers seems to be too early, even if it be certain that the Jews were able to reckon the interval with exactitude, which is by no means the case with the later Jewish reckonings. The dates are, however, about the same as that of the Kefr Bir'îm inscription. The Karaite era of the Galuth is generally identified with the captivity of the ten tribes in 696 B.C., because of an inscription which identifies the year 1700 of the Exile with 1316 of the Seleucid era, but this is not the Biblical date. It should be noted also that there is an era of Galuth on the coins generally identified with 139 B.C.

The sarcophagus of Queen Sara in the tombs of the Kings, discovered by De Saulcy, is attributable to the century after Christ, about 45 A.D. The letters are very rude, but the character closely approximates to the square type.

Beyond Jordan we have the inscription at 'Arâk el Emîr, which contains five letters of the alphabet. Of these three are of the old Phœnician forms, but two are quite distinct from any "broken" forms, and are clearly the *Daleth* and the *He*, or the *Resh* and the *He*, as on the Carpentras stone and the Papyri, but even closer than these, or than the Palmyrene, to the square forms.

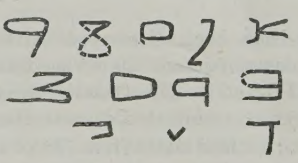
In the course of the survey three tombs with Hebrew inscriptions were found, besides the Gezer stone, discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau. The first of these tombs was found by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake at 'Ain Sinai. The text was very rude, but the letters are of the square form (see "Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 302), closely resembling those of the Beni Hezir tomb. The form of the *Aleph* in the word Eleazar is nearest to the Palmyrene. The tomb contained a *loculus*. According to my reading of the text it represents the words—

משה בר אלעזר בר . . . כהן . . .

"Moses, son of Eleazar, son . . . priest . . ."

The forms of some of the letters are those which are found as early as 300 B.C. The letters omitted seem most probably to form the word Zechariah. This with the next two I have submitted to Dr. Isaac Taylor for an opinion. The Aramaic word *Bar* is used instead of the older Hebrew *Ben*, pointing to a date later than the Captivity.

Two other tombs were found, having inscriptions in the older character. The first text was copied by me at Umm ez Zeinât ("Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 71), the inscription having been discovered by Corporal Armstrong, R.E. The letters were large but very rudely scratched, and had once been coloured red. Twelve letters in all were found.



This tomb belongs to a large group of *loculus* tombs with a few *kokim*, and from the arrangement of the *loculi* it might be supposed to date at least as early as 200 B.C.; but, on the other hand, this part of Galilee had a thick Jewish population in the second century after Christ.

This inscription appears to me possibly to read—

אלעזר
בר עז
ריה

"Eleazar bar Azariah." The *Zain* would resemble that on the Hasmonean coins. The character approaches the Israelite rather than the Aramean.

The third tomb found during the course of the survey is that near the site of Archelais, a Herodian city in the Jordan valley. The letters are more distinctly cut than in the preceding instance (see "Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 396), and are of the older forms. The *Shin*, the *Vau*, the *Koph*, the *Aleph*, are all very near to the character of the Siloam text; but the tomb is only a grave sunk in the rock, and there is no indication of the exact date. Archelais was founded by Archelaus ("Ant.," XVII, xiii, 1;

XVIII, ii, 2); but an older town may perhaps have occupied the site, as in the case of Beth-Saida.[1]

The indications as yet obtained show that the Aramean alphabet was used in Palestine in the time of Christ, and even 300 years before His birth, the shape of the letters being even more completely defined than in the Palmyrene; and some of these forms seem to be used as early as 176 B.C., in conjunction with the older types of the Phœnician alphabet, as evidenced by the inscription of Hyrcanus at 'Arâk el Emîr.

On the other hand we have the older forms of the letters on the coins as late as the year 40 B.C., and even later if the conclusions of Madden and De Saulcy concerning certain coins be accepted. It is clear that the two alphabets occur in use, side by side before the Christian era, although the researches of Gesenius, Levy, Renan, Lenormant, Du Vogüé, Taylor, and others, show the gradual development of the square character from the older Aramaic and Phœnician forms. In Galilee, in the second century A.D., the square character was certainly in use, yet the Galilean tomb above noticed as having an inscription with the earlier forms, may possibly belong to the same period.

A curiously erroneous fashion of speaking of the characters used on the coins as "Samaritan" has survived, and leads to mistakes. Thus a correspondent to the *Athenæum* (4th August, 1883) contrasts the alphabet of the Siloam inscription with that of the "Samaritan" letters on the Jewish coins, and supposes two "broken" alphabets to have existed side by side in Palestine. The characters on the coins were called Samaritan originally at a time when the nearest known alphabet resembling them was the Samaritan. It is clear, however, that Jews would not use Samaritan letters if they could help it, and it would be quite as accurate to speak of the coins as Phœnician or Greek. A comparison of coins and Siloam characters shows that they are the same alphabet save for differences in the *Vau* and *Zain*, which are scarcely greater than the differences between these letters on different coins. Considering that the Siloam text belongs to the eighth century B.C., and that the coins are probably never older than the second century B.C., these minor differences are very natural.

In the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Sanhed., xxi, 22), the square character is attributed to Ezra, which is a view not confirmed as yet by the researches of scientific men. It is, however, quite clear that the square and the older forms were both in use when the tract Yadaim (iv, 4) was written, that is to say, in the second century A.D.; the *Ashuri*, or square character, was then employed with the old Hebrew language by the priests, whereas the older alphabet and the Aramaic language were used by the *Hidiut*, or ignorant.

A passage in the New Testament (Matt. v, 18) appears to imply the existence of the square letters in the time of Christ, and it will be seen

[1] The graffite on osteophagi, and in the tombs of the Prophets at Jerusalem, are not noticed in the present paper, because there is reason to suppose that they are too late to be of much value, nor are the mediæval graffite at Neby Samwîl.

from what has been above stated that the results of scientific exploration confirm the accuracy of this deduction. It seems to be proved that the two alphabets existed side by side as early even as 300 B.C., which would agree with the arguments deduced from a consideration of certain clerical errors in the LXX version of the Pentateuch. The Ptolemaic papyri seem to show that the change may have occurred in consequence of the difference of material employed, the older forms being preserved in inscriptions on stone and on metal, while the greater facility given by the use of ink on parchment led to the divergence of the MS. forms from the monumental forms. A similar divergence is observable in the hieroglyphic and hieratic forms in Egypt, the first being the monumental, the other the literary character.

The history of the alphabet has been made so plain in Dr. Taylor's volumes, which I have just received, as to render a lengthy note unnecessary; but at the same time the value of the three new inscriptions above noticed is rendered yet clearer by his masterly sketch of the Aramean alphabets.

Hebrew MSS. do not give us any assistance in the study of the present subject because of their late date. Various fragmentary MSS. in Russia are supposed to belong to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, though in each case the real date may be 107 years later than that usually ascribed. It is doubtful, indeed, whether we possess any Hebrew MS. older than the tenth century. The date of the old roll at Shechem is unknown, but the character in which it is written cannot be supposed older than the sixth century A.D.

Considering how completely the two alphabets appear to overlap in Palestine, even in monumental inscriptions, and also how great length of time would be required for the development of the square forms from the older ones, it is perhaps not impossible that the Talmudic tradition, accepted by Origen and Jerome, may have been in the main correct, and that the square letters, or forms approaching to them, may have been used in MS. writing even as early as the time of Ezra.

These remarks are offered with great diffidence, as the progress of archæology in this direction has been very rapid of late. A further note on the subject by Dr. Isaac Taylor, or Dr. Ginsburg, or M. Clermont Ganneau, would be of great value to future explorers, as enabling them to separate the true from the false, and indicating the sort of information which is required by the learned. The inscriptions of which no *fac-similes* have been given in this paper will be found represented in the "Memoirs" as noted.

C. R. C.

THE FORTRESS OF CANAAN.

"In the first year of King Seti there took place by the strong arm of Pharaoh, the annihilation of the hostile Shasu from the fortress of Khetam, of the land of Zalu, as far as Kanaan. The king was against them like a fierce lion. They were turned into a heap of corpses in their hill country: they lay there in their blood; not one escaped to tell of his strength to the distant nations."

This fortress attacked by Seti I, in 1366 B.C., before the Exodus according to Brugsch, but perhaps during the time of the early Judges, is called in the great Harris Papyrus (of the time of Rameses III) a stronghold of the land of Zahi. It belonged to the Shasu or Bedawin, and had a stream and pool near it. The road by which Seti advanced led by Ribatha, which Brugsch believes to be Reholoth, also in the land of Zahi, which he identifies with the Negeb or south country of Scripture. In 1700 B.C., we find an earlier king attacking the same land of Zahi, namely Aahmes, who advanced to Sheruhan (the Biblical Sheruhen or Shaaraim, Josh. xix, 6). The name Zahi is, on the tomb of this king, identified with Pen Nekeb, or the Negeb land. It was a country producing wheat (as shown by an inscription of Thothmes III), and also balsam. Fruit trees and wine are also mentioned as products of the land of Zahi, in another inscription of Thothmes III.

It seems curious that this name of Kanaan should apply to a hill fortress, yet the inscriptions seem to leave no doubt on the subject. The state of our geographical knowledge concerning Egyptian conquests does not perhaps justify the certainty with which some authorities identify the Syrian towns conquered by the Pharaohs; but in the present instance the indications are fairly definite and numerous. They show an advance from the vicinity of Gaza by Reholoth (now *Er Ruheibeh*) and Sharuhen (which I have proposed to find in *Tell esh Sheri'ah*), to the hill country which is evidently that included under the term Negeb in the Book of Joshua, namely, the hills south of Hebron.

On Sheet XXI of the Survey, the ruined site of *Kan'ân* will be found marked south-west of Hebron. The word is spelt just as on the Egyptian inscriptions, and as the name Canaan is spelt in Hebrew. This word is entirely different from the *Kanân*, which will be found as a name for several ridges of hill in the same district; for the name of the ruin begins with *Caph*, and contains the *Ain* as the third radical, whereas the name for a ridge, spelt with *Koph* and *Aleph*, is the plural of *Kann*, a peak, or hill-top.

The ruin occupies a knoll in a very important position on high ground. The two main roads to Hebron, one from Gaza by Dura (Adoraim), one from Beersheba on the south, join close to the knoll of Khurbet Kan'ân, and run thence north-west about 1½ miles to Hebron. West of the ruin is the *'Ain el Unkur*, or spring of "crevisses," which issues from the rock and gives a fine perennial supply, forming a stream even in autumn. The

valley sinks suddenly from the little plateau where the spring issues, forming a deep ravine, now filled with fine orange gardens, orchards, and vineyards. It is here that the lake or pool apparently mentioned on the monuments may have once been formed by the abundant waters of the springs. There were several other good springs rather further west, draining into the same valley (Wâdy el Afranj), and 'Ain Abu el 'Adas, 'Ain Ibrahim, 'Ain Subeih, 'Ain Hameidân, are immediately to the north (see "Memoirs," Vol. III, p. 352, giving the enlarged Survey of the environs of Hebron). A small swamp (El Bussah, "the marsh") still occurs on the north, and the vicinity has a finer water supply than perhaps any spot in the Hebron hills. The vineyards are extensive, not only filling the Vale of Eshcol east of the fortress, but also covering the hill to the north; and the threshing-floors of Dura and Hebron are large. Thus not only is the name identical with that mentioned in the Egyptian records, but all the surroundings of the site, its mountain position, its water supply, its command of the two main lines of advance from Egypt, its situation within the Negeb of the Bible, agree in indicating the identification as certain.

Of the ruin little remains. Foundations occur on the knoll, with a ruined watchtower on the west. It is, however, clearly an ancient site, for rock-cut tombs occur on the west between the knoll and the spring, which are so rudely hewn inside as to be possibly of the most remote antiquity. I had occasion to visit the spot more than once in 1874, and again in 1882, and it has long been considered an important place, though never identified in a satisfactory manner. Dr. Rosen placed Debir at this spot, but the identification of that city with Ed Dhâheriyeh is in every respect more satisfactory. Yet later Mr. T. Saunders has proposed to place Holon here, though why he should do so is a mystery, as the places have only the final *N* (not a radical) in common; the true site of Holon is more probably *Beit 'Aula*, further west.

It appears, then, that King Seti's march was really an attack on the rich vale of Eshcol, the corn and vine lands of Hebron, a raid by one of the easiest ascents from Philistia to the Judean hills, either directed against the Hittites and Amorites and Kenites of Hebron, or (if we take an earlier date for the Exodus) against the children of Caleb. It was the fortress of Kanaan which guarded the approach to this rich country, and which the Egyptians stormed; and it was with a similar object many years later that Rehoboam built a fortress in a somewhat better position, but in the immediate vicinity, namely, at the town of Dura or Adoraim, about two miles to the west.

Curiously enough, Seti took his name from Set, the patron deity of the warlike Hittites, against whom he was contending on this expedition. It was the fall of this fortress of Kanaan, apparently, which opened the way for the triumphs of his son, Rameses II, in his attack on the northern Hittites at Kadesh on Orontes.

C. R. C.

BETHANY AND BETHSAIDA.

This name Βηθανία, only known in the Greek, has received many explanations. It may be only the Aramaic form of the Hebrew Bashan ("soft or sandy soil"), but this does not apply well to the site. On the other hand, we know that the Hebrew nomenclature of Palestine is to a very great extent of Pagan origin. The geographic lists of Karnak agree with Genesis in showing that a Semitic nomenclature existed long before the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, and though in some cases the names were changed by the Jews, in many other instances they were not. Anathoth, for instance, is very probably named from the Assyrian 'Anath. The name Beth Anna is used on Assyrian tablets of the Temple of Beltis, wife of Baal. Possibly this Beth Anna is the real original form of Bethany, and the site was perhaps once occupied by one of the idol temples of Solomon (that of Ashtoreth possibly). See 1 Kings xi, 5–7.

The name 'Anath (which is quite a different word) is found also in Beth Anoth of Judah (now *Beit 'Ainûn*) and Beth Anath in Galilee, identified by Sir C. Wilson at *'Ainatha*.

Bethsaida,[1] again, is a name which may be compared with the Assyrian Beth Zida ("Temple of Life"), which was the shrine of Nebo and Nana (Mercury and the Moon).

That there is nothing strained in these suggestions is evident when we recall the names Beth Shemesh ("House of the Sun"), Beth Dagon, Beth Peor, together with numerous towns named from Baal. Ashtoreth Carnaim is another instance, and Dan, mentioned before the tribe of Dan inhabited the spot (Gen. xiv, 14)—indeed before Dan was born—may have been named from Daian Nissi ("the Judge of Men"), an old Assyrian name of the Sun, whence the later Dionysus is derived, for Dan in all ages was a centre of Sun worship.

C. R. C.

NOTES.

The *Quarterly Statement* for July contains one or two points which may excuse a note.

Ashasharat el 'Arais (p. 120) given as a name of some trees by Mr. L. Oliphant, is apparently a misprint for esh Shejerât el 'Arâîs, which means "the Trees of Bridegrooms" (pl.), not the "bridegroom's" (sing).

[1] In last *Quarterly* I have called attention to the name Abu Sudûn as occurring in Galilee, and perhaps connected with Poseidon. It might be objected that the *Yod* which occurs in the Hebrew Sidon is not found in Abu Sudûn. But in the Phœnician inscriptions from Athens and Carthage we find Sidon spelt without the *Yod;* and we also find a Carthagenian deity called צד who is no doubt connected with the same idea.

The name is commonly applied to springs in Palestine to the east and west of Jordan.

The name *Mezra'h* (p. 121) can hardly be considered more than descriptive ; it means "the sown land," and applies to every sown plot in the country.

The discovery of Roman remains (p. 140) near Port Saïd, and the account of towns by Ptolemy (whose latitudes are not reliable), cannot be considered to conflict with my statements. Roman remains in Egypt cannot be much older than the Christian era, and Ptolemy lived yet later. My remarks referred to events occurring at least 1,500 years earlier.

C. R. C.

ARAB TRIBE MARKS (AUSAM).

The following tribe marks were collected both east and west of Jordan, and are of considerable importance for several reasons.

This, with the next, was found inscribed on the walls at Masada by De Saulcy, who mistook both for planetary signs. The tribe marks at Ammân he also copied, but was unable to give any explanation of the meaning. The sign is that of the Jâhalin tribe who live in the vicinity of Masada.

This is the tribe mark of the Rasheideh, an old tribe now nearly extinct, in the vicinity of Engedi. The sign which is now used as that of the planet Venus is the *Ankh* in Egypt, and is found in Assyria as early as 1500 B.C., as a symbol probably of the planet Venus. The Abu Nuseir use a similar mark, and I have found it also east of Jordan.

A tribe mark at Masada, although the tribe was not ascertained. This is one of the common Himyarite forms of the letter *Resh*.

The tribe mark of the elder branch of the 'Adwân ('Ashîret Diâb). This is the Himyarite numeral *one*.

The mark of the second or junior branch of the 'Adwân ('Ashîret en Nimr) is the Himyarite No. 2.

The mark of the 'Abbâd, allied to the 'Adwân, is the Himyarite No. 3.

The mark of the 'Ajermeh, an old tribe near Heshbon. This is the Æthiopic *Gimel*. It is also found with a single stroke, marking a subdivision of the tribe. It is sometimes reversed and becomes *Lamed*. It is the Nabathean *Daleth*.

Another 'Ajermeh mark ; is also probably *Lamed*, as in Æthiopic It may also be a *Samech* or a *Gimel* in Nabathean (Sûfa inscriptions).

The Da'ja mark, a tribe near 'Ammân, is the *'Ain* common to so many Semitic alphabets.

The Beni Hassan mark near Sûf and Jerâsh closely approaches the Himyaritic *Resh* or Nabathean *Beth* (Safa).

A mark of one of the Belka tribes near Heshbon, somewhat like one of the Himyaritic letters, namely *Theh*, which is also used as a numeral; or it may be the Æthiopic *Vau.*

The mark of the Beni Sakhr, which they call "the coffee-spoon," is the Himyaritic *Yod;* also found in Safa inscriptions.

Another mark of the Fâîz family of the Beni Sakhr, is called "the necklace." This is the Himyaritic *Tza*, but bears no resemblance to the *Teth* of the same alphabet.

Another division of the same great tribe is perhaps only a variation of the "coffee-spoon," but approaches the Æthiopic *Daleth.* The preceding mark and the coffee-spoon occur with a single stroke to show the elder family of the tribe division bearing the mark.

The mark of the Jibbûr, a division of the Beni Sakhr. They say it is not a cross, but it is clearly the *Tau* of Himyarite and other Semitic alphabets.

The "Raven's foot" is also used by the Jibbûr. This is the Himyaritic *Heh*, but more nearly akin to the Nabathean form of the letter.

AND

Used by divisions of the Khurshân, who belong to the Beni Sakhr tribes. These approach the Himyaritic and Æthiopic *Vau.*

The mark of the Sherârât, also a division of the Beni Sakhr. This is the Himyaritic *Tzadi*, a very peculiar form not found in other Semitic alphabets.

A mark of the Sh'alân, who are a division of the 'Anezeh. It somewhat resembles the Æthiopic *Beth.*

A mark of the Kowâkbeh, who are a division of the 'Anezeh. This also may be a *Beth* approaching the Nabathean and Palmyrene forms.

A mark of the Shawâbkeh, another Belka division. This may be a *Resh*, as in Nabathean. It is akin to the 'Ajermeh mark.

Called "the door," is the mark of the Khadîr, also a division of the Beni Sakhr. This appears to be the Himyarite *Beth*, and it is interesting in this case to see the name of the latter still preserved, for *Bab*, or door, is the Beth in Hebrew also.

These marks I obtained on the spot, and they were explained to me by the Arabs themselves, who, however, being unable to read, have no idea of the derivation or meaning of the marks which they use on camels and other stock, also on tombs, and which they place on the walls of ruins where they suppose treasure to be concealed, to which they thus lay claim. They also place these marks on menhirs and dolmens, and on solitary

stones, and sometimes in such numbers as to have the appearance of inscriptions.

The German Palestine Society published a number of these tribe marks in 1879 with the title *Inschriften*, including many of the marks above given. The distinction between real inscriptions and collections of tribe marks is, however, simple, because Nabathean and Himyaritic inscriptions are written in regular lines.

It is natural that some of these marks should originate from a southern Semitic alphabet, because the stronger Arab tribes which exist in a nomadic condition in Syria originate from Yemen and the Nejed. They began to push northwards a little after the Christian era, and have gone on migrating in this direction ever since. We should naturally expect inscriptions in the same character east of Jordan, and, as mentioned in another paper, four such inscriptions have recently been found, but these belong probably to the time of the semi-civilisation when Zenobia ruled in Palmyra; for the majority of the Bedawin share the peculiarity of which Muhammed was proud, being quite unable to write or read. The list of tribe marks is by no means as perfect as could be desired, but it is sufficiently long to indicate clearly the origin of these signs. It is noticeable, however, that while the 'Adwân and Beni Sakhr marks are letters of the south Semitic alphabet, the Ausâm (pl. of Wusm) of the 'Ajermeh and other old Belka tribes are nearer to the Nabathean and Thamudite. The Belka tribes are probably of the old Nabathean stock, but the dominant tribes—Beni, Sakhr, and 'Adwân—immigrated from Arabia some three centuries ago. The distinction is thus natural and very instructive.

C. R. C.

APHEK.

This word in Syriac is said to mean "springs." At Afka on Lebanon magnificent springs occur, as also at 'Ain Fiji, and at Fikieh. The Aphek east of the Sea of Galilee is also in a situation with water, and the derivation seems thus to suggest that other Apheks would be at or near springs.

In Judah we have an Aphek, or Aphekah (Josh. xii, 18; 15, 53; 1 Sam. iv, 1), which some writers have conjectured to be the present Kustul. There is no connection of name, and nothing beyond an insignificant land spring, at that place. The Aphek of Joshua xii, 18 may be a northern Aphek near or on Gilboa, perhaps Fukû'a (1 Sam. xxix, 1), or Fûleh, near the well-watered valley of Jezreel. The Aphek of Joshua xv, 53 was not far from Beth Tappuah (Tuffûh, near Hebron) and Humtah (perhaps Khamasa). The Aphek of 1 Samuel iv, 1 was on the way from Mizpeh to Philistia. It may perhaps be thought to be the present Wad Fûkîn, the Pekiin of the Talmud, which is close to Khamasa, and situated in a remarkably well-watered valley beside one of the main high roads

from Philistia to Jerusalem. It is curious to note that there is a Fikieh near Bâb el Wâd, on the road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, and a convent of El 'Azar east of it near Abu Ghosh. These may represent an early tradition of the episode of 1 Samuel iv, being sites respectively for Aphek and Ebenezer; but the Christian origin of the latter site, and the fact that Fikieh is not near any spring, seem to preclude the acceptation of these sites as genuine. If, however, a line be drawn from Neby Samwîl through Deir el 'Azar south-west it nearly strikes 'Aslîn, which has been thought to be Ashnah (Josh. xv, 33), a name very close to Shen. Ebenezer was between Mizpeh and Shen.

No real trace of Ebenezer has yet been found, and the whole topography of the episode is vague. Deir el 'Azar occupies a very prominent site looking down towards the plain of Sharon. The ruins, which I revisited in 1881, present heaps of stones and large cisterns. It seems to me probable that it was once supposed to be the site of Ebenezer, and that the Philistine camp was then supposed to have been in the Merj Fikieh at the bottom of the pass. I have pointed out that Jerome places Ebenezer at Dier Abân, no doubt supposing 'Ain Shems to be Shen; but this tradition seems far less probable than even the localisation now suggested. The evidence is perhaps hardly strong enough to allow of our considering Deir el 'Azar to be the real Ebenezer, but its claims ought not to be forgotten, as 'Azar and Ezer are the same word.

C. R. C.

HAZOR.

This name, so common in the old nomenclature of Palestine, signifies "enclosure," and has been thought to refer to cattle-yards. The aboriginal Avim "dwelt in Hazarim" (Deut. ii, 23), but the name Baal Hazor suggests a religious enclosure. In the vicinity of Kefrein we found a Tell Mahder, the name of which is radically the same as the Hebrew Hazor. The top of the Tell is surrounded by a great wall of stones piled up in a circle. Many such circles, some of great size, occur on the plateau above, and appear to be very ancient. It may be suggested that the name Hazor applied to such circles, and that they had (as in other lands) a sacred origin.

C. R. C.

DIBLATHAIM,

"The two cakes," or discs, was a town of Moab (Jer. xlviii, 32), and Diblath (now *Dibl*) of Galilee (Ezek. vi, 14). The name is a very curious one, and occurs on the Moabite Stone. Now in Moab we discovered immense stone discs resembling millstones, but not pierced in the middle, and

too large for ordinary use as millstones. Possibly these may explain the name Diblathaim, and one of them occurs at a site which would be appropriate for Almon Diblathaim, but which is now called Kueijîyeh ("the head ornament").

C. R. C.

RAMOTH LEHI.

(Judg. xv, 9-19.)

The early Christian tradition, as noted by Reland and Robinson, would seem to place this site close to Eleutheropolis or Beit Jibrîn, where Samson's fountain was shown. This probably accounts for the name of the ruin Shemsânîyat, or "the Samson places" west of Beit Jibrîn.

Aquila and Symmachus render the name by the Greek Σιαγων, as Eusebius notes in the Onomasticon. This might be thought to have some connection with the ruin of *Siâgh* east of Beth-Shemesh, for Josephus also uses this name ("Ant.," V., iii, 8), and the vicinity to Beit 'Atâb (the Rock Etam) seems appropriate. It is not, however, very probable that the name would survive in Greek. A spring exists near, and the name of Lehi ("the jaw") might very well be given to the gorge of Wâdy Ism'aîn immediately north, but these indications are too feeble to give any real identification.

Other indications further west are noticed in "Tent Work" (Vol. I, p. 276), which are perhaps more satisfactory, but do not amount to identification. The district was re-explored in 1881, but no further light on the matter was obtained.

Lehi seems to have been a district, and Enhakkore a spring in this district. There are springs called 'Ayûn Kâra near the coast, north of Yebnah, which might be thought to be connected by name with Enhakkore, but these are probably too far west. Near Siâgh there is a ruin, Marmîta, which might be thought to preserve the name Ramoth, the *M* being only a servile.

Near Gaza is the village Beit Lâhi (the *H* is not, however, a guttural). This place is noticed in the life of Hilarion, and by Sozomen ("Hist. Eccles.," V, chap. v). The latter authority supposes it to have been named from an ancient temple still represented by a mosque. It is not probable that this has anything to do with Lehi. Finally, there is a Beit Leyi on the Roman road south of Beit Jibrîn. This may be named from the Christian tradition as to the site as above noticed, but this does not seem a very probable site, because it is far away from Samson's country.

The general result of two special visits of exploration, and of a collection of the general literature of the subject, thus seems unfortunately to leave us still in doubt. I am inclined to think that what has been said in "Tent Work" represents the nearest approach to probability attainable.

C. R. C.

JUDAH ON JORDAN.

(Josh. xix, 34.)

A SIMPLE explanation of this curious reading occurs to me as follows. The Hebrew is—

וכי הודה הירדן

The *Daleth* and the *Resh* are so easily confused, and are so well known to have been confused in many cases in the Old Testament, as also the *Heh* and the *Cheth*, that we might very well read Hurah for Hudah.

Hurah ha Yarden would mean "the Hollow of Jordan," and is thus equivalent to the *Ghor*, or hollow, which was the real east boundary of Naphthali—just as "Judah on Jordan" is said to be. The roots Kûr, Ghor, and Khor are all allied to each other. It is interesting to find the Ghor noticed under this name in the Bible.

C. R. C.

SAUL'S JOURNEY.

THIS question is likely to be long disputed because of the meagre nature of our information. I may perhaps be allowed once more to state a route which seems intelligible. It does not seem to me that any value attaches to ideas of *view* from any point on the journey, because nothing is said in the Bible about such a view. It is assumed by the disputants in the last *Quarterly Statement* that the "land of Benjamin" is mentioned in connection with Saul's journey. This is not the case. The Hebrew says (1 Sam. ix, 4) "he went across the *Aretz Yemeni*." This may be rendered "the land of the south," and seems to show a change of direction. It is not said whence Saul started, whether from Zelah or Gibeah. But he went—

Through Har Ephraim — Jebel Nâblus.
„ Aretz Shalisha — probably near Kefr Thilth.
„ Aretz Sh'alîm = "land of caverns."
„ Aretz Yemeni = "land of south."
To Aretz Tzûph, or "of the view."

This name in Arabic might be either Safa or Shûfa. I should be sorry to be too positive as to the exact site of the Nameless City, but Kirjath-Jearim is a very likely place for Samuel to have visited, because the ark was then at this city. It stands on the south side of a valley, and on the north side just opposite is a ridge with two ruins called *Shûfa*, which may represent Zuph very properly.

There is a curious indication also in the expression "the end of the city" (verse 27), for this expression is also used of Kirjath-Jearim (Josh. xviii, 15). It refers, perhaps, to the curious spur on which the old ruin 'Erma stands.

There is another point, perhaps not very important but yet worth noting. Josephus (who, however, had only the Old Testament to guide him) calls the Nameless City Ramah. This might be his rendering of Arim, the later form of Jearim (Ezra ii, 25). From Kirjath-Jearim the route which would most easily be followed is along the ancient highway which leads east to El Khudr, and joins the Hebron road near that town: thence Saul would go north and pass naturally by Rachel's tomb (1 Sam. x, 2). As to the return, it seems to me as clear as anything can well be that it was to Gibeah of Saul, called in full Gibeah ha Elohim, a sacred place where there was a "garrison" (Speaker's Commentary would render "pillar") of the Philistines. The word here is נצב as in 1 Samuel xiii, 3, and it is identical with the Arabic *Nusb*, which means in the Korân and in common use a menhir and nothing else. There was such a Netzeb at Geba as mentioned in the latter passage, and there seems no reason why the place should not be the same in both cases, viz., *Jeb'a* near Michmash.

Mr. Shapira's rendering of 1 Samuel x, 2 has no particular value, because it is not the meaning of the Hebrew. Mr. T. Saunders only reproduces very old-fashioned views as to Ramah founded on the facts that Samuel had an ancestor named Zuph, a man of Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. i, 1), and that Ramah and Bethlehem are connected in the New Testament (Matt. ii, 18). It is surely quite impossible to extend Mount Ephraim so far south as Mr. Saunders would do. The latter gentleman has, however, shown so little respect for either topography or philology in his theories that, in my opinion, he should not be cited as an authority. Mr. Birch's objections to this view as to Ramathaim-Zophim seem to me to be very strong.

C. R. C.

SUPPOSED NABATHEAN AND HIMYARITIC TEXTS FROM MEDEBA.

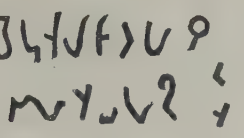
3rd August, 1883

These four inscriptions are preserved in the Latin Patriarchate at Jerusalem, where I saw and copied them in 1881. They had been sent by the Latin missionaries from Medeba, east of Jordan, and were discovered early in 1881. Visiting Medeba in August of the same year I was informed that they had all been found by excavation, or amid heaps of fallen stones, when the newly-established Latin colony, at this ruined city, was engaged in building up rude drystone enclosures for their cattle. It is possibly one of these stones which Canon Tristram saw in 1872, and which he mentions of an illegible Phœnician text (many of the letters being similar to those of the Phœnician alphabet). He saw also Latin and Greek texts, which seem to have been since removed or destroyed ("Land of Moab," p. 311).

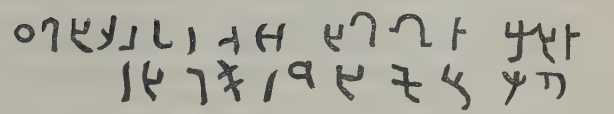
These inscriptions are in characters quite different, as a rule, from the alphabet of the "Moabite pottery;" and it does not appear that they have ever passed through the hands of any person interested in the said

pottery. No. I is on a limestone slab of rude shape, cracked on the right, and measuring 15 inches in length by 12 inches in height, the text occupying about 5 inches by 8 inches. It seems nearest the Sinaitic.

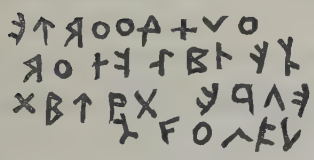
No. I.



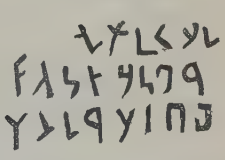
No. II.



No. III.



No. IV.



No. II is on another limestone slab, 20 inches long and 8 inches high. The text occupies 18 inches by 3 inches. This is perhaps the most curious of the four.

No. III is much better preserved than the two preceding, and the letters are closely like the forms of the Himyaritic or Sabean alphabet. The stone, also a slab of limestone, is 11 inches long and 8 inches high; the text occupies 9 inches by 4 inches.

No. IV, also well preserved, is on a slab 12 inches by 9 inches, and the text occupies 9 inches by 6 inches. It approaches Palmyrene.

The Latin ecclesiastics offered no opinion as to these stones, but were convinced that they were genuine inscriptions. They had not, I understood, shown them to any good archæological authority, but most courteously allowed me to measure and copy the inscriptions, and said that they would be glad to be informed of their value. I forwarded a copy at once to England for the examination of scholars, but it would seem to have been lost in the post, as it excited no interest.

As regards the likelihood of the genuineness of the inscriptions, it should be noticed that Medeba was an important town in the second century, and as late at least as the fifth. The immigration of Arab tribes from Yemen, in the second century A.D., is well known to have led to the settlement of the Beni Ghassân tribe in the Hauran, and no doubt at the same time other Arab tribes would have invaded the Moab plateau round Medeba. There are many indications of Himyar and Sabean influence in the district,

including legends of the Tobba Queen Belkîs, together with the survival of the word *Nejis*, used in southern Arabic and in Æthopic for a king or ruler. There is a ruin called *Homrîyeh*, or "Himyarite," and another, *Kusr el Homrah*, which (as there is no red colour at the place) probably means the "Himyarite palace." This last name applies to a building close to Hesbân, on the north. These remarks apply specially to No. 3; for the others are nearer Nabathean than to Sabean.

A favourable opinion as to the value of the texts has been given by the Rev. Isaac Taylor, in a private letter to me; but he remarks (as I had also done in writing to him) that no recognised alphabet contains all the letters of either of the texts.

The discovery of inscriptions by Halevy in Yemen, concerning which many learned papers by Captain Prideaux will be found in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology" (Vols. II, IV, V, VI), has thrown a flood of light on the history of the southern Semitic alphabet, and the present texts may perhaps serve to form some kind of link with the Nabathean and Palmyrene. A few notes are here hazarded, with a list of the symbols, which may be useful to any scholar who is able to decipher the inscriptions.

1 In No. 3, line 2, is perhaps the *Aleph*, as in Himyarite and in the Safa inscriptions.

2 In No. 2, line 2, and No. 4, line 3, is perhaps the *Beth*, as in Sabean, or perhaps *Tau*, as in Nabathean.

3 In No. 2, resembles somewhat the Æthiopic *Beth*, but is also like the Sassanian *Heh* of the fourth century A.D.

4 In No. 4, line 2, possibly the *Daleth*, as in the Haurân, or at 'Arâk el Emîr.

5 In No. 2, perhaps the *Gimel*, as in Æthiopic. It may, however, be a *Daleth*, as in Nabathean of the fourth century A.D.

6 In No. 3 and No. 4, appears to be the Nabathean *Heh;* the right hand form might, however, be a Nabathean *Shin*.

7 In No. 3, line 1. This is the Himyarite *Vau*. It is also a sign common in Cypriote and Lycian as *T*. The Safa *Vau* seems to occur as the last letter of No. IV.

8 In No. 4, might be the Nabathean or Sabean *Nun;* it is also possibly *Lam*.

9 In No. 2, line 1, resembles the Æthiopic *Zain* and *Dhal*, which are letters originally identical. It is not unlike the Palmyrene *Tzadi*.

10 In No. 1, No. 2, and No. 4, is the Nabathean *Gimel*. Also found in Palmyrene and other Aramaic alphabets. In Aramean, however, the *Yod* takes this form.

11 In No. 3, lines 2 and 4, is one form of the Himyarite *Yod*. It only occurs in this inscription, which is throughout nearest to the south Semitic types.

12 In No. 2, line 2, is not unlike the Æthiopic *Caph*. It may be a *Samech*, or may be the same as No. 2.

13 In No. 1 (possibly in No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4), seems to resemble one Himyaritic form of *Lamed*.

14 In No. 1 and No. 2, resembles the Nabathean *Lamed*.

15 On No. 2 only (line 2), is the very distinctive Himyarite *Mem*.

16 On No. 3 only (lines 1 and 2), is probably the Himyaritic *Nun*.

17 On No. 1 resembles the Sabean and Æthiopic *Nun*. It is, perhaps, the same as No. 8, though the top stroke is longer.

18 On No. 2, line 2, though like the early Hebrew *Caph*, is probably the *Heh*, as at Safa, and in Sabean.

19 In Nos. 2 and 3, is the Semitic *Ain* common to many alphabets distinctive as not Aramean. It is small and round as in Sabean.

20 (Compare 14) on No. 1, resembles a Nabathean *Peh*. But it is most probably a *Lamed*.

21 In No. 1, might be the *Koph*, or perhaps *Yod*, or even *Vau*, as in south Semitic alphabets.

22 No. 1, line 2, is like the *Resh* on Sassanian coins of the fourth century, or the *Vau* of the same alphabets.

23 No. 3 and No. 4, probably the Himyarite *Resh*, as in alphabets derived from the Tyrian.

24 No. 3 might also be *Beth* or *Koph* in Himyarite, or in Nabathean respectively.

25 No. 3 and No. 4 is the *Tau* in many Semitic alphabets. It is distinctive as not having the Aramean form.

26 On No. 1 (see 13). Might be the *Heh*, as in Æthiopic, or possibly the same as in line 2, a *Lamed*.

27 On No. 1, is something like a *Resh* in Himyaritic, differing from 23. This is a form on the Sinaitic inscriptions also.

28 Might be a *Tzade* or *Shin*. There are several other letters of somewhat similar form, such as the Palmyrene *Zain*.

29 On No. 1, line 1, is most like a *Caph* in Nabathean, or might be perhaps a *Shin*. The ordinary *Shin* of the Sabean alphabet is not found.

30 An extraordinary form on No. 1. Perhaps a Nabathean *Shin*.

31 This approaches the *Beth* in Nabathean, and in Palmyrene. It may be a *Nun*, as at 'Arak el Emîr.

32 Perhaps *Tsadi*, as in Palmyrene, and in Sassanian inscriptions.

33 Perhaps a rude *Aleph*. See Nos. 6 and 37.

34 Possibly a form of *Samech*, as in Tyrian alphabets.

35 Is nearest to the Æthiopic *Lamed*, or may perhaps be a *Gimel*, or a *Samech*.

36 Possibly another *Lamed*, or *Resh*, as in Sabean reversed.

37 In No. 4 (and perhaps in No. 1) might be an *Aleph*.

38 In Nos. 2 and 4, is a numeral (No. 1) in Sabean texts. It might also be a form of *Zain*, as in Palmyrene.

39 Perhaps a careless *Zain*, as in Palmyrene.

40 Perhaps a careless *Yod*, but is now probably a *Gimel*. In No. 4, lines 1 and 3, a somewhat similar letter with the cross strokes rising, is, perhaps, the Aramean distinctive form of *Ain*.

Some margin must be allowed for carelessness, for the inscriptions are not very well executed on the whole. No. I seems nearest to Nabathean, and No. III to Sabean, and each text must of course be considered separately. As the genuineness of the texts may possibly be called in question it should be noted that forms 6, 15, 21, 24, 31, occur on the Moabite pottery. They were pointed out during the controversy as showing the pottery to be forged, because they were there found, not as in the present instance with the Himyaritic and Aramean forms, but with the alphabet of the Moabite Stone, which was considered impossible.

The inscriptions should also be compared with the Palmyrene, and (as Rev. Isaac Taylor points out) with the Proto-Pehlevi. Forms 2, 4, 10, 14, 31, 32, and 38 have much in common with the Palmyrene, and with early alphabets of the second century A.D., from which modern square Hebrew is supposed to have developed (although perhaps earlier than is sometimes admitted). In Zend and in Pehlevi there are also forms worthy of consideration, as resembling Nos. 5, 22, 32.

The situation of Medeba gives great interest to the inquiry ; for on the one hand we have the inscriptions of Sinai and of Arabia to compare, and on the other those of Palmyra, and the Sâfa, from the first to the third centuries A.D. As far as I have been able to ascertain no such inscriptions have before been found in the Belka, though Nabathean inscriptions of the Hauran were recovered by De Vogüé. We have a good many Greek inscriptions at Jerâsh and elsewhere, and to these the Moabite Stone and the Tyrus inscription must be added ;[1] but as yet we have no relics of the great age of the Beni Ghassân and of Queen Zenobia, which we should naturally expect to be represented by inscriptions in Moab. If scholars are satisfied of the genuineness of these four inscriptions, casts can no doubt be procured, but as they are very legible on the whole, I believe the copies will be found fairly accurate.

It should be noted that the Palmyrene and Iranian alphabets and square Hebrew come from the Aramean branch of the Semitic alphabets, with Nabathean, Thamudite, and the scripts of Petra and Sinai. The Sinaitic inscriptions are as late as the fifth century A.D., and are very like the present inscriptions Nos. I, II, IV. The south Semitic alphabets were

[1] The Tyrus text is of great value, being probably dated as 176 B.C. It only contains five letters, the first of which is the Phœnician *'Ain*, and the fourth the Phœnician *Yod*. The second, third, and fifth letters are, on the other hand, of the Nabathean, Palmyrene, or square Hebrew type. Thus the inscription seems to blend the two branches of the Semitic alphabet together, which may also prove the case in the present text, No. II.

distinctly derived, and No. III is more distinctly of Southern origin. No. IV seems nearest Palmyrene. No. II contains Aramean forms, together with the older form of the *'Ain*, which is not Aramean. The Aramean *'Ain* occurs in No. IV.

I would note, finally, that the Moabite Arabs use Himyaritic and Nabathean letters as *Ausâm*, or tribe marks (as I hope to show in "Heth and Moab"). These must not be mistaken for inscriptions, where they are found (as is often the case) cut in numbers on some monument or sacred stone. It is not difficult to make the distinction, partly because the tribe marks are cut irregularly and not in lines, partly because they are generally recent and very rudely cut. Nevertheless this mistake has been made by more than one traveller in Moab and in Arabia.

C. R. C.

THE HAMATHITE INSCRIPTIONS.

1*st September*, 1883.

In the last *Quarterly Statement* (p. 133) I ventured to draw attention to the similarities of the Hittite and of the earliest Egyptian hieroglyphics. I have since been encouraged to pursue the comparison further, and to draw up a list of sixty-one Hittite symbols, for which a parallel may be found in Egyptian. I am aware of the comparisons made by Professor Sayce between the Lycian, Cypriote, and Hittite symbols; but it seems possible that the suggestion, to which I am now anxious to draw the attention of Egyptologists, will not ultimately conflict with these comparisons. I am also aware that the Hittite symbols have been compared with hieratic, without any very useful result; but it seems more likely that the key of one monumental system should be found in another, than that the monumental Hittite symbols should resemble that literary character which derives from the hieroglyphic or monumental Egyptian.

Among the symbols compared many of the Egyptian are ideographic signs, or determinatives, while others are well-known alphabetic forms; but as these occur together in Egyptian they may perhaps do so also in Hittite, and the comparison does not therefore seem to be vitiated. It is true that many normal Egyptian forms (such as the *Mem*, the *Caph*, the *Resh*) are not apparently traceable on the Hittite texts; but, on the other hand, the signs commonest in Hittite seem, as a rule, to be equivalent to common Egyptian symbols. The comparatively small number of signs used in Hittite reminds us of the selection by Thothmes III of a few of the commonest Egyptian symbols in his transliteration of the names of Semitic towns in the Karnak lists.

A few notes may be added as to some of the most interesting of these comparisons, but first I would note that all the Hittite texts as yet published appear to be written *boustrophedon*, or in lines alternately from left to right and from right to left. This has already been remarked in

the case of the Hamath stones, and a careful study of the texts, which now number over a dozen in all, brings this prominently before the attention. The heads, the figures of birds, and of beasts, &c., are all looking to the right in the first line, while in the second these same symbols will reappear all looking to the left, and in the third again to the right. One would be inclined to suppose that all these texts read from the left-hand top corner, were it not that in at least four cases the emblem No. 1 of my plate stands at the right-hand top corner, and seems to begin the text with a determinative, indicating speech.

The Hittite texts do not seem to be works of consummate art. The representations are far ruder than those of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the symbol is not always exactly reproduced on each repetition. This may be due in part to the hardness of the basalt on which these figures are cut in relief; and the difference between the Egyptian and the Hittite is often in great measure due to the fact that, while the former symbols are cut *intaglio*, or painted, the latter are hewn in relief. For this reason also, perhaps, the old wooden hieroglyphs of Hosi's tomb (in relief) are much more like the Hittite texts than are the finished symbols cut *intaglio* at a later age. All the Hittite texts as yet published are in relief, although one in *intaglio* has been discovered by Sir C. W. Wilson, thus approaching even closer to Egyptian.

The Egyptian equivalents (if so they be) I have taken from well-authenticated copies of texts of all ages; but on the whole it seems to me that the oldest Egyptian texts give more forms for comparison than the later. The Hittite signs are mainly taken from photographs.

No. 1 is, I believe, a determinative in Egyptian. The finger raised to the lips indicates in Egyptian verbs of "speech"; No. 2, is the *Beth* in Egyptian; No. 4, *Daleth;* No. 13, perhaps *Vau;* No. 15, a determinative of verbs of action; No. 16, *Tau;* No. 21, *Tzadi* or *Teth;* No. 28, *Shin;* No. 32, *Samech;*[1] No. 34, *Vau;* No. 35, *Mim;* No. 42, *Gimel;* No. 43, the determinative for countries; No. 44, *Koph;* No. 45, *Tzadi;* No. 48, perhaps *Aleph*, &c. These are obtained by comparison with the normal Egyptian alphabet, and by the values assigned to the hieroglyphic in connection with the Semitic alphabet on the Pylons of Karnak. Some symbols, on the other hand, like Nos. 7 and 8, though not belonging to the normal alphabet, are found on the wooden text of Hosi's tomb, and on other early Egyptian inscriptions.[2] No. 50, in Egyptian, is the sign for the backbone, which has been compared with the linear Babylonian Cuneiform.

These are but a few examples given as showing the possible value of the comparison, but most of the symbols will be at once recognised by Egyptologists as of common occurrence, and of well-known significance.

[1] No. 32 would appear to be also an *S*, and this agrees in a very remarkable manner with Professor Sayce's comparison with the *Se* of the Cypriote syllabary.

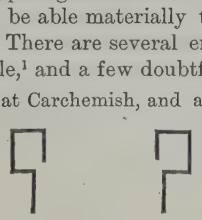
[2] Professor Sayce compares No. 23 to the Cypriote *Ko*, but as the syllabary did not distinguish *K* and *Kh*, this seems not to oppose the identification with *Cheth*.

The only questions which will arise are as to the closeness of the comparison with the Hittite, and as to the meaning in Hittite of the symbols, and also concerning the language in which the inscriptions are written.

In connection with this side of the question I would draw attention to the peculiarly Egyptian character of many signs. This is not only the case with No. 1, which may be called the head of Im-hotep, but also with No. 11, which has been likened to the scarabeus by several writers on the Hamath stones. No. 18 may not perhaps be considered a good comparison, but in Egypt *Bes* is represented with his tongue protruding, and similar masks occur not only in Asia but even in the statues of South America. No. 12 may be compared with the ram-headed Kneph. No. 14 seems to be a donkey's or fawn's head, perhaps recalling the ass's head of *Aau*, or of *Set*. No. 27, the *Ankh*, and No. 26, the *Cross*, are found also in Assyria, and Nos. 29 and 23 may also be observed among Assyrian emblems. No. 54 is one of the most interesting because most artificial. No. 26 and No. 22 have been compared to the so-called emblem of stability in Egypt. No. 24 was long since said to be a mitre, and seems to bear a close resemblance to the *Pshent*, which occurs very often in hieroglyphic inscriptions.

I am far from supposing that this comparison is perfectly satisfactory. I have no doubt that Egyptologists who are familiar with the list of 400 Egyptian emblems will be able materially to improve on this rough first sketch of the subject. There are several emblems yet left, including a bear's head, a divided circle,[1] and a few doubtful forms for which I have

Another character found at Carchemish, and also on Babylonian seals, is the following:—



It may be compared with the Egyptian *Heh*—

[1] Professor Sayce has written at length on this sign ⊕, which may perhaps represent the *'Ain*, if we follow his reasoning as to the goddess *'Ate*. In this case it is to be compared with the hieroglyphic *Ain* which is the eye of Osiris. As to the signs resembling No. 27 of our plate, which occur in the hands of various deities at Boghaz Keui, I believe them to be variations of the *Ankh*, and probably phallic emblems. No student of hieroglyphics will deny that unmistakable phallic emblems occur in Egyptian writing, and the fact is admitted by Renouf, Pierret, and other authorities. It may have considerable value in assisting us to determine the value of various signs and the genders of nouns. Layard has given a cut representing a deity on a lion with such an emblem in his hand, and the *Ankh* is held by all Egyptian deities.

The information given in Professor Sayce's paper ("Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," 1881, pp. 248–293) does not seem in any way to conflict with the suggestions of the present paper.

been able to find no equivalent. On the whole, however, the list represents the great bulk of the symbols, which recur again and again in the Hittite texts. In 1877 Professor Sayce published a list of fifty-six symbols. The present table contains a few more. Those for which Professor Sayce obtained very similar Cypriote characters are Nos. 25, 21, 47, 44 ; but, on the whole, I venture to think that the present comparison is fuller and more satisfactory. It seems hardly possible that so many coincidences can occur together merely by accident, and without giving any result.

I would propose, then, that, in the first place, an attempt should be made to read these inscriptions as though Egyptian, both in symbolism and in language, each line being read alternately right and left, beginning on the right in the first line. If it be ascertained that the language is not Egyptian, we might still use the symbols with the Egyptian value, and endeavour to interpret the language by aid of Accadian or of some kindred Turanian tongue, on the supposition that the Hittites borrowed hieroglyphic signs from Egypt as the Phœnicians borrowed the hieratic. Mr. D. I. Heath believes that the inscriptions are written in a Semitic tongue, which is of course also, *primâ facie*, very possible, considering that the monuments occur either in or on the border of a Semitic land ; and though the evidence so far goes against the supposition that the Hittites were a Semitic people, it must not be forgotten that they had Semitic deities (Ashtoreth, Baal, &c.), and were near neighbours of the Phœnicians. While it yet remains to be proved that the inscriptions in question really are of Hittite origin.

Without wishing for a moment to be thought ignorant of the valuable work of Professor Sayce concerning Hittite antiquities, I would venture to urge that, although it may be convenient to class all the new monuments and texts under the title Hittite, it must be considered only a provisional term, and the fact yet remains to be proved. The character may be Alarodian or may be that of the old Caucasian type, whence the Egyptians were derived. The Hittites were one tribe of a great race, but we know the names of many other kindred tribes further north. Until the language of the inscriptions is determined we are unable to state positively what race invented the character, and although it has been shown that the Hittite language was probably Aryan or Turanian, and not Semitic (as evidenced by the titles following the proper names, and by the proper names of Hittite princes themselves), it yet remains to be shown that the inscriptions are not in a Semitic tongue. At Ibreez the figures have the beard and whiskers with shaven moustache, which, as we know from the Egyptian monuments, was a Phœnician fashion. The probabilities are perhaps in favour of a non-Semitic origin of the so-called Hittite inscriptions, but as yet nothing is proven.

My reasons for making these suggestions are mainly historical. The Hittite texts (as we may continue to call them, since they are found in the land of the Hittites) might be either a rude and not very intelligent reproduction of Egyptian hieroglyphics, borrowed by the less civilised from the more advanced race ; or, on the other hand, they may be

extremely archaic, and represent the true Asiatic origin of the Egyptian system. It is well known that the Egyptians came from Asia, and certain tribes which they greatly respected, because they were circumcised (the Caucasians, Achæans, Sardones, Taurians, Ossetes, Zygritæ, Ligyes, and Zagylites) may have been of common stock with the old Egyptian race Herodotus tells us that the Colchians were an Egyptian colony, but perhaps they were really of the stock from which the Egyptian emigrants sprang. However it be, the comparison which he draws shows how strong was the affinity between Egyptians and certain tribes of Asia Minor. Herodotus also believed the statues near Ephesus, which Professor Sayce calls Hittite, to be Egyptian. How if the father of history were right after all? or, at all events, right so far that the character employed was one also used by (if not borrowed from) the Egyptians? A German Professor discovered on the Niobe near Smyrna, only a few months ago the cartouche of Rameses II, and notes the Phœnician-like execution of this Egyptian text.

I must here finally mention what seems to be, perhaps, a strong confirmation of the present suggested theory. Professor Sayce has published a drawing of a silver boss ("Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archælogy," Vol. VII, pp. 298, 443), with a Cuneiform and Hittite bilingual. The Cuneiform reads: "Tarrik timme, King of the Country of Erme." The Hittite legend is twice repeated, and consists of only six characters. The one which Professor Sayce considers to be the first is No. 8 of our plate, viz., *Tau*. The one which he considers to be the third is either No. 39 or No. 44 of our plate, and would appear from the Egyptian to be a *Koph*. Here, then, we have in their proper order two letters of Tarak-timme's name; the one between must be the *R*, and is, perhaps, No. 59 of our plate. Perhaps, by aid of Egyptian, we may yet read the rest. The four vertical tsrokes are common in Hittite, and vertical strokes also occur in hieroglyph.

The Phœnicians have been shown to be the originators of the true alphabetic system, which they developed from the Egyptian cursive hand, according to Professor Isaac Taylor (i, p. 88). The Hamathite stones represent evidently a syllabary, or idiographic forms, or letters with prefixed determinatives. They may fairly be supposed to be older than the introduction of the Semitic alphabet, but they possibly might, in the end, prove to be hieroglyphs, used by early Phœnicians before that alphabet came into use. The *boustrophedon* arrangement is exactly that which the early Greeks obtained with their alphabet from Phœnicia.

All these suggestions I offer, with much diffidence, to the consideration of those who may be able to decipher the Hittite monuments, hoping that the comparison of sixty-one symbols will, even if many are rejected, perhaps prove a basis on which to work, and that we may thus finally become possessed of the secret which these mysterious emblems preserve.

C. R. Conder, R.E.

CITY OF DAVID.

Mr. Birch is occupied in nearly every *Quarterly Statement* in exposing the "idle fancies" and "growing error" not only of Captain Conder, but also, at times, of Josephus. He states that it is an "entire mistake" to suppose the word *Matzab* is ever rendered a "pillar," though it is constantly employed of the menhirs of the Canaanites, which are "images" in the English version, but by many authors recognised as equivalent to the Ansâb of the pre-Islamite Arabs.

What, may I ask, does Mr. Birch make of the words אלון מצב (Elon Matzab), rendered "oak of the pillar" in Judges ix, 6?

It cannot be considered that Mr. Birch's case is strengthened by having to postulate that the authority, on whom after all we are obliged mainly to rely, "makes two false statements" or "deliberately altered" an inconvenient statement. I may perhaps be content to be placed by Mr. Birch in the same category with Josephus, and although it appears that I am so constantly inconsistent, I may perhaps be permitted to plead that Mr. Birch has been equally confident that he knows the exact place of the Tombs of the Kings, on more than one occasion, but in very different situations. The same may be said of the Nameless City, and this observation has been made by more readers than myself, so that we are still in doubt what Mr. Birch finally considers to be the truth.

As regards the proposal to recognise the "Tombs of the Kings" in the ancient Jewish sepulchre now called "of Nicodemus," I can only say that the idea has been favourably received by many persons well acquainted with the history of Jerusalem. As regards the "balance of authority" in favour of Acra being west of the Temple, I would say that I do not rely on numbers, but on the character of the authority. I place Robinson Warren, Fergusson, and others whose names may be supposed to carry weight in one scale, and Mr. Birch in the other, and after reading all he has written I incline to give preference to the other view. If David and Solomon did not build a wall round the Upper City, why does Josephus say ("Wars," V, iv, 1) that "the old wall built by David and Solomon began on the north at Hippicus? Is this another false statement, or is Hippicus on the Temple spur, and is the Upper City *post* Herodian? And if they did why should the "City of David" be applied to a hill which was only walled in by later kings?

But leaving aside these questions—for to me it seems that the longer he studies the question of the tombs the more Mr. Birch will find his difficulties increase—I would ask whether he has realised the conclusions to which his theory leads him. The City of David, I understand him to believe, stood south of the Temple. He speaks wrongly of "the hill" on this side, for there is no distinct hill, but part of a narrow sloping spur which falls steadily from the Sakhrah, and has no valley to divide it from the part of the same spur on which the Temple stood. He also, I understand, excludes Ophel from the City of David, though it is not clear

where he supposes Ophel to have been. The Temple itself was, he will admit, outside the City of David, or at all events it was not inhabited. If this be the case his city is only about 10 to 15 acres in area—a population of 600 to 1,000 souls at most, taking even the proportion of any squalid modern village in Palestine, without public buildings, or indeed without any street. In Galilee the ordinary size of a village is 20 acres, and there are many of nearly double that size. Herod's Temple alone occupied 35 acres, and modern Jerusalem 200 acres, within the walls. But Mr. Birch's Jerusalem, or City of David, is only 10 to 15 acres in area, including the "fort," which was the lower city (2 Sam. v, 6), and the citadel itself, which was *not* the lower city (Josephus, "Ant.," VII, iii, 1), unless Josephus makes another false statement. In fact, we have Zion, Moriah, Acra, Ophel, all on one spur within about 10 acres, while the remaining two larger hills and the remaining 190 acres have no names at all! And why? Because Mr. Birch refuses to accept any statement of the ancient accounts which does not agree with his theory.

Was this hamlet the capital of 15,000 square miles of kingdom in the days when Nineveh and Memphis were still inhabited? and if so, at what period of history did Jerusalem grow over the Upper City until it covered 300 acres in all? Not in the troublous latter day of her history surely, when, according to Mr. Birch's view, the "very old wall" of Josephus would seem first to have been built.

C. R. C.

THE SHAPIRA MANUSCRIPTS.

On the morning of July 20th last, Mr. Shapira called at the Society's office in Adam Street, and informed the Secretary that he had brought to England a manuscript, which if genuine would be certainly considered of inestimable value, being nothing less than a text of the Book of Deuteronomy, written on sheepskin, in characters closely resembling those of the Moabite Stone, and with many and most important variations. He refused to show the documents to the Secretary, but offered to do so if Captain Conder were also invited to be present.

On Tuesday, the 24th, he returned, and, in the presence of Captain Conder and Mr. Walter Besant, he produced the manuscript, and with it an account in writing of the manner in which he acquired it. This account, which he afterwards gave to the officers of the British Museum, was subsequently published in the *Times*, and is as follows :—

"He first heard of the fragment in the middle of July, 1878. A Sheikh, with several Arabs of different tribes, came to him at his place of business in Jerusalem on other matters. The Sheikh had nothing to do with antiquities. They spoke of some little black fragments of writing in the possession of an Arab. They had been found in the neighbourhood of the Arnon. One of the Arabs spoke of them as talismans, smelling of asphalte.

"The day following Shapira was invited to dinner by the Sheikh, and heard more about the fragments. About the year 1865, at a time of persecution, certain Arabs had hid themselves among rocks. There, on the side of a rocky cavern, they found several bundles wrapped in linen. Peeling off the covering they found only black fragments, which they threw away. They were picked up by one of the Arabs, believing them to be talismans. He kept them as such, and became rich, as he thought, in consequence. This was probably ten years or more before Shapira heard of them. Captain Conder knows the exact time. Shapira promised the Sheikh a reward if he would bring to him an Arab he spoke of who would be able to get hold of the fragments. This happened on the day of the dinner. The Sheikh fell ill, and afterwards died.

"About ten or twelve days after the dinner, a man of the Ajayah tribe brought to him a small piece, containing four columns. A few words only were legible. A week after, on Sunday, he brought fourteen or fifteen columns, containing the clearer writing. The next Sunday he brought fourteen or fifteen more columns, in another character of writing, but not all of one form. Ten days after, on Wednesday, he brought three or four columns, very black. Shapira saw nothing more of him.

"After an interval of four or five weeks Shapira wrote to Professor Schlottmann, on the 24th of September ; soon after, also, to Dr. Rieu. The writings were (some of them) in better condition than at present. Schlottmann wrote that they were fabrications, and blamed Shapira for calling them a sacred text. He never saw the writings themselves, only Shapira's copy. Schlottmann wrote in similar terms to the Consul at Jerusalem, Baron von Münchausen, and desired him to prevent Shapira from making the find public. Then Shapira wrote or telegraphed to Dr. Rieu that the writings were forgeries, and that he was to take no steps in respect to them. This he did in consequence of Schlottmann's judgment of them, and the reasons on which it was founded. He placed them in a bank in Jerusalem.

"Subsequently he began to reconsider Schlottmann's objections, and he found that they were partly grounded on mistakes Shapira had made in deciphering the writing. He felt better able to judge of them himself because he had had more experience in manuscripts. It was before Easter of the present year that he re-examined them, and he deciphered them a second time. Professor Schröder, Consul in Beyrout, saw them in the middle of May, 1883, and pronounced them genuine. He wanted to purchase them. Shapira took the writings to Leipzig at the end of July to have them photographed. Professors there saw them. Dr. Hermann believed in them, as did Professor Guthe, who intends to write about them. They had been smeared with asphalte originally as a kind of embalmment oil and spirit. The oil was used by the Arabs to counteract the brittleness, and to prevent their suffering from wet."

Professor Schröder, of Beyrout, has since written to the *Times* denying that he ever pronounced the documents to be genuine.

On Tuesday, the 26th, Mr. Shapira exhibited his manuscripts to a

small party of *savants* at the Society's offices. They were thence taken to the British Museum to be subjected to a closer examination. A translation of the commencement was also published in the *Times*, thus :—

"These be the words which Moses spake according to the mouth of Jehovah unto all the children of Israel in the wilderness beyond the Jordan in the plain. God our God spake unto us in Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount. Turn you and take your journey and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto, in the plain, in the hills, and in the vale, and by the seaside. And when we departed from Horeb we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw ; and we came to Kadesh-Barnea. And I said unto you, Ye are come this day unto the mountain of the Amorites. Go ye up and possess ye the land, as said [unto thee the God of thy fathers.] [Notwithstanding] ye would [not] go up. And ye murmured and said, Because [God] hated us . . . to cause us to perish. And God was angry [and sware] saying, As I live, surely all the people that saw my wonders and my signs which I have done these ten times . . . not . . . they have not hearkened unto my voice, they shall not see that good land which I sware to give unto their fathers, save your children and Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun which standeth before thee, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it. But as for you, turn you and take your journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, until all the generation of the men of rebellion shall be wasted out from among the host. [And they abode] in Kadesh-Barnea until the men of rebellion were wasted out by death from amongst the host. . . . Ye are to pass over this day the coast of the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir. Thou shalt not distress them, nor meddle with them in war, for I will not give you of their land any possession, because I have given it unto the children of Esau for a possession. The Horim from of old dwelt therein, and the children of Esau succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead. And we turned and passed the wilderness of Moab. And God said unto me, Ye shall pass over this day the coast of Moab, ye shall not distress them, nor meddle with them in war, for I will not give you of their land any possession, because I have given unto the children of Lot the city for a possession The giants dwelt therein from of old, and the Moabites called them Amim, but God destroyed them, and they dwelt in their stead. And we turned and passed the brook Zered. And God said unto me [saying], Rise ye up and pass over the river Arnon. This day will I begin to deliver to thy face Sihon the Amorite, King of Heshbon, and his land. And we went forth against Sihon to Jahaz, and we smote him till we left him none to remain. And we took all his cities from Aroer, which is by the brink of the river Arnon, unto Gilead, and unto the brook Jabbok. God our God delivered all unto us. Then we turned and went up the way of the brook Jabbok. And God said unto me, saying, Ye are to pass this day the coast of the land of the children of Ammon. Ye shall not distress them nor meddle with them in war, because I have given unto the children of Lot the land of the children of Ammon for a possession. The

giants dwelt therein from of old, and the Ammonites called them Azam-zummim, but God destroyed them before them, and they dwelt in their stead."

A *fac-simile* of one slip of the manuscripts, containing four columns, was published in the *Athenæum*, with notes by Dr. Ginsburg, on September 8th.

On August 18th, while the skins were under examination at the Museum, the following letters appeared in the *Academy* :—

"Oxford,

"*August* 13*th*, 1883.

"From the very outset, when I did not as yet know a word of the contents of Mr. Shapira's Moabite Deuteronomy (as I must call it, since it was discovered in the land of Moab, and is reported to be written in characters similar to those on the Moabite Stone), I held it to be a forgery. Mr. Shapira seems to have undergone for the second time the fate that befell him (according to his own statement) in the case of the Moabite pottery which now adorns the Foreign Office at Berlin (the Municipal Museum having refused to accept it). Judging from two inscriptions published by Dr. Schlottmann, of Halle, I then declared in the *Academy* all this pottery to be a modern fabrication. That I was right is now acknowledged on all sides. I am not now going to imitate Professor Kautzsch, who wrote a big book in order to prove the mistakes of grammar and idiom in the inscriptions on the pottery ; for this a few instances would have been sufficient, as they will also be in the present case.

"We have now the original text of the Decalogue as contained in the Shapira sheepskins, published by Dr. Ginsburg, with a few remarks, in the last number of the *Athenæum*. Here we find the first two Commandments of the received text fused into one in the Moabite text. There can be no doubt as to this, since each Commandment in the new version concludes with the words, 'I am God, thy God' (I shall have to say a word or two about this apostrophe later on). This is not, however, a new idea ; it was already mooted by mediæval Jewish writers. Next we are struck by the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, הֲהֵרֹתִךָ, 'I liberated thee.' The usual verbs employed for liberating from Egypt and from the house of bondage, in the historical as well as in the prophetical books of the Bible, are either *yatsa* in the Hiphil form (as the received text has it here) or *padah*. The roots h*arah* or h*ur* are not used as verbs in the Old Testament, but only in the Targum, and in the Talmud, and then not in the Hiphil form, or with the particle *min*. It is difficult to understand how both texts of the Decalogue, in Exodus as well as in Deuteronomy, should have no trace of such a word, but employ uniformly instead of it the root *yatza*. In all the other Commandments of the Moabite text, moreover, Israel is addressed in the second person singular ; why, then, do we find in the First Commandment 'Ye shall not have,' 'ye shall not bow down?' I shall not say much about the omission of the words 'before me' and the passage beginning 'for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God,' and ending with verse 10. This last passage we shall find in another Commandment of the new text. If, however, we have already found a strange idiomatical

expression, we have as yet come across no grammatical mistake. For this we must wait until we reach the Second Commandment, which refers to the keeping of the Sabbath. It runs thus: 'Sanctify . . . for in six days I have made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and rested the seventh day, therefore rest thou, also thee, and the cattle, and all that thou hast.' וישבתי, 'and I rested,' is ungrammatical; it ought to be ואשבת. Evidently the Moabite writer did not make use of Dr. Driver's excellent work on the Hebrew tenses. The root *shaboth* does not mean 'to rest,' but 'to cease from work,' and in this sense only it is found in the Old Testament. The forger made a blunder in not leaving the root *noa*h as in the received text. The word *gam* ought to be repeated according to classical Hebrew: *cf.* Exod. xvii, 31, 32, and elsewhere. The expressions 'and all thou hast' and 'anything that is his' are not classical Hebrew. The Fourth Commandment runs thus: 'Thou shalt not murder the person of thy brother.' But this is not Hebrew, as can be seen from the passage *urezaho nefesh* (Deut. xxii, 26). Here a clumsy use has been made of the Chaldee paraphrase. The Fifth Commandment says: 'Thou shalt not commit adultery with the wife of thy neighbour:' *cf.* Lev. xx, 10. The Sixth Commandment reads: 'Thou shalt not steal the wealth [*not* property] of thy brother.' *Hon* is not to be found in the Pentateuch, the word *haïl* being employed there instead of it in the sense of 'wealth.' Now what is the meaning of these paraphrases of the last three Commandments? It is usually supposed that concise texts are the early ones, and paraphrases the later. Why is the word 'brother' employed twice, and the third time 'neighbour?' Is that a slip of the pen? We come now to the Seventh Commandment, the composition of which does no great credit to the author of it. Here we read: 'Thou shalt not swear by my name falsely [Lev. xix 12], for I shall be jealous [Dr. Ginsburg translates 'I visit;' but can *kanâ* be used in that sense, or is it a misreading?] the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third generation who take my name for a lie' (not 'in vain,' as Dr. Ginsburg renders it). I have already pointed out the strange—I should rather say the impossible—use of the root *kanâ;* but the expression *lenosey* is rabbinical; in classical Hebrew we would expect *laish asher yissa.* The word *eduth*, 'witness,' is equally a rabbinical form. Such is the grammatical and idiomatic character of the new Moabite text of the Decalogue. I will now pass on to some other points. Dr. Ginsburg informs us 'that every Commandment begins a fresh line.' This is a modern idea of writing; in the Siloam Inscription a word even does not end with a line. Dr. Ginsburg goes on to say that the words 'that thy days may be prolonged' (in the Fourth Commandment) are absent on one of the slips, but occur on the duplicate. He adds: 'This is either due to an omission on the part of the scribe, or indicates that it is intended as a different recension.' The account which Mr. Shapira gives of the way he came into possession of his treasure is rather contradictory, and somewhat damaging to the authenticity of the fragments. He says at the end of his letter addressed to Dr. Ginsburg:—

"'In about twelve days I got [from an Arab near Aroer] four or five columns, with a few Phœnician [?] letters visible upon them; in eight days more he brought me about sixteen beautifully written columns; in eight days more about fifteen, not so well written; in eleven or twelve days more four or five well-written columns; and I have not seen the man again. The Sheikh died soon, and I lost every trace that would enable me to follow the object further.'

"The end of the story is tragical; death sometimes comes when it ought not. But where are these *beautifully* written columns? From the reports in the *Times*, I gather that all the slips are not so easy to decipher. One point more. I have mentioned that the Decalogue begins and ends with the words 'I am God [*Elohim*, not *Jehovah*, Lord], thy God,' and that at the end of every Commandment these words occur again. This is certainly the cleverest thing in the new Deuteronomy, as it turns the fragments into an Elohistic text. (Dr. Ginsburg, by the way, states from memory that the expression אלהים אלהיך, 'God thy God,' does not occur in the Old Testament. It does, however, occur in the Elohistic Psalms, xlv, 8 and l, 7. The last quotation might have served as a model for the new Decalogue.) Unfortunately, the Moabite Moses has blundered at the very beginning of the book by using the following words:—'These be the words which Moses spake according to the mouth of *Jehovah*' (so, at least, we read in the translation given in the *Times*). The rest of the chapter has only *Elohim*. This and the following chapters of the new Deuteronomy might be criticised with as damaging an effect as the Decalogue, but it is not worth our while to do so; *ab uno disce omnia*. The omissions and the additions in this part are made without even a superficial knowledge of the results of modern criticism. I shall only point out one oversight: i, 9 of the new text reads 'because I have given unto the children of Lot the city for a possession.' Instead of *city* the Authorised Version has *Ar*. The new text must consequently have עיר instead of ער. Now in the Decalogue, as well as upon the Moabite Stone (for the *scriptio* of דיבן, Dibbon, Dr. Nöldeke rightly suggests that it was most probably pronounced *Daybon*), and also in the Siloam inscription, the *scriptio defectiva* is general; how, then, does it happen that עיר is written *plene?* Is it a slip of the pen again? I give my opinion on this grave question without being able to take any notice of the palæography of the sheepskins. But I am certainly not very anxious to study the 'beautifully written columns' of the new Moabite scribe, as I am convinced from the text itself that the whole is a forgery.

"A. Neubauer."

"Queen's College, Oxford,
"*August* 13*th*, 1883.

"We learn from the *Times*, as well as from Dr. Ginsburg's communications to the *Athenæum*, that the fragments of the Book of Deuteronomy which Mr. Shapira has brought to England are written in characters

resembling those of the Moabite Stone. Now the discovery of the Siloam inscription has shown that these were not the characters used in Judah (and therefore presumably in the northern kingdom of Israel) in the pre-exilic period. Consequently, if the fragments were genuine, they would belong to a Moabite and not to a Jewish Book of Deuteronomy, and the opening verse of the book would contain the name of Chemosh, and not of Yahveh or Jehovah.

"It is really demanding too much of Western credulity to ask us to believe that in a damp climate like that of Palestine any sheepskins could have lasted for nearly 3,000 years, either above ground or under ground, even though they may have been abundantly salted with asphalt from the Vale of Siddim itself.

"A. H. Sayce."

On August the 21st, M. Clermont-Ganneau's letter, written on the 18th, appeared in the *Times*, and on the same day Captain Conder's letter of the same date.

"I reached London on Wednesday last, instructed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France with a special mission to examine Mr. Shapira's manuscripts, at present deposited in the British Museum, and which have, for some time past, excited such great interest in England.

"My studies of the stone of Mesha, or 'Moabite Stone,' which I conveyed to the Louvre, and re-constructed in its entirety, my decisive disclosures with regard to the fabrication of spurious Moabite potteries, purchased by Germany, and my labours in connection with Semitic inscriptions generally, gave me, I ventured to think, some authority upon the question, and caused me to hope that the favour would be shown to me, which was accorded to other scholars, and to persons of distinction, of making me acquainted with these documents, which, if they should prove to be authentic, would unquestionably be of incalculable value.

"I will not conceal the fact that I entertained, in advance, most serious doubts as to their authenticity, and that I came here in order to settle these doubts. But I thought it my duty to pronounce no opinion until I had seen the originals.

"As soon as I had arrived I went to the British Museum, where my learned and obliging friend, Dr. S. Birch, was kind enough to introduce me to Dr. Ginsburg, whom I found in the Manuscript Department, engaged in studying the fragments, in company with Mr. Shapira. Dr. Ginsburg was good enough to allow me to glance at two or three of the fragments which were before him, and postponed until the next day but one (Friday) a more extended examination. He showed, however, some degree of hesitation, and finally expressed himself as uncertain whether it would be convenient or not to submit the fragments to me. It was agreed that I should have a decisive answer on Friday. I fancied that Dr. Ginsburg feared some encroachment on my part, in the matter of the priority of publication of a text which he has deciphered with a zeal which I am

happy to acknowledge, and which he has had the honour of first laying before the public. I endeavoured to reassure him in this respect, by informing him that I only wished to concern myself with the external and material state of the fragments; that I should examine them exclusively with this object in view, in his very presence; and that I was ready to bind myself to refrain from examining the text, properly so called, and from publishing anything whatsoever on the contents of the fragments.

"On Friday I went again to the British Museum, and Mr. Bond, the principal librarian, informed me, in the presence of my distinguished friend Mr. Newton, that he could not, to his great regret, submit the fragments to me, their owner, Mr. Shapira, having expressly refused his consent. There was nothing to be said against this; the owner was free to act as he pleased. It was his strict right, but it is also my right to record publicly this refusal, quite personal to me; and this to some extent is the cause of this communication. I leave to public opinion the business of explaining this refusal. I will confine myself to recalling one fact, with comment. It was Mr. Shapira who sold the spurious Moabite potteries to Germany; and it was M. Clermont-Ganneau who, ten years ago, discovered and established the apocryphal nature of them.

"In these circumstances, the object of my mission became extremely difficult to attain, and I almost despaired of it. I did not, however, lose courage, and I set to work with the meagre means of information which were at my disposal:—(1) The hasty inspection of two or three pieces which M. Ginsburg had allowed me to handle for a few minutes on my first visit; (2) the examination of two fragments exposed to public view in a glass case in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum—a case very ill-lighted and difficult of approach, owing to the crowd of the curious pressing round these venerable relics. I devoted to this unpleasant task both Friday and Saturday, and had the satisfaction of obtaining an unhoped-for result. These are my conclusions:—

"The fragments are the work of a modern forger. This is not the expression of an *à priori* incredulity, a feeling which many scholars must, like me, have experienced at the mere announcement of this wonderful discovery. I am able to show, with the documents before me, how the forger went to work. He took one of those large synagogue rolls of leather, containing the Pentateuch, written in the square Hebrew character, and perhaps dating back two or three centuries—rolls which Mr. Shapira must be well acquainted with, for he deals in them, and has sold to several of the public libraries of England sundry copies of them, obtained from the existing synagogues of Judea and of Yemen.

"The forger then cut off the lower edge of this roll—that which offered him the widest surface. He obtained in this way some narrow strips of leather with an appearance of comparative antiquity, which was still further heightened by the use of the proper chemical agents. On these strips of leather he wrote with ink, making use of the alphabet of the Moabite Stone, and introducing such 'various readings' as fancy dictated, the passages from Deuteronomy which have been deciphered and trans-

lated by M. Ginsburg, with patience and learning worthy of better employment.

"That which put me on the scent was the presence—ascertained by me at first sight—on the fragments of an important detail, of which I had not at first understood the full significance. The lines of Moabitish writing are arranged in the shape of columns, separated by vertical creases in the leather—that is to say, by creases perpendicular to the general direction of writing. On the right and left of each of these folds I had noticed two vertical straight lines, drawn with a hard point, as guides for the vertical margins, starting from the upper edge of the strip, and extending to the lower edge, which they do not always reach. The Moabitish forger had not paid much attention to these extremely fine lines, which have scratched the leather in an almost invisible but indelible manner; and the lines of Moabitish characters, instead of being confined by this drawing, have no relation to it. Sometimes they pass over the lines, sometimes they rest on the inner sides of them, both at their beginning and ending. The forger was obviously guided in observing the limits of his space, not by the vertical marginal lines, but by the intermediary creases. If, however, we compare these strips of leather with one of the synagogue rolls of which I spoke just now, the explanation of this mystery will be made plain to us at once.

"These rolls consist of large pieces of leather (generally sheepskin) sewn end to end, forming enormous strips, which may be 30 or 40 mètres in length, and with a breadth of 16 centimètres or more.

"The text of the Pentateuch, in the square Hebrew characters, is arranged in regular parallel columns containing some fifty lines each. At the top a horizontal margin is left, and at the bottom another horizontal margin, everywhere wider than the upper one, both extending for the entire length of the roll. This lower margin, to take an example, on a roll in the British Museum coming from Jerusalem and bearing the number 1460, measures 8 centimètres in height. The columns of the text separated by intervals, which, in the roll instanced by me by way of comparison, measure about 4 centimètres, are marked out with the stylus. The horizontal marks along which the square Hebrew characters are brought into line are confined on the right and left by two long vertical lines, traced in the same manner, which, for the most part, cross the first and the last horizontal line, and jut out into the upper and lower margin. This is not all. Between each column and the next one, the leather has a vertical crease which runs from top to bottom of the roll. It is these ends of the vertical lines drawn with the stylus and the peculiar creases which divide them which we meet with on the long narrow Moabitish strips whereon the forger has written his Moabitish characters.

"There is more yet. I have said that the large pieces of leather of the synagague rolls were sewn end to end. Now, among the Moabitish strips, I saw at least one where this seam still exists. I need not point out how interesting it would be to examine the character of the thread. Finally, one sees that on the Moabitish strips one of the two edges, either the upper or the lower, is fringed and ragged. It is the original lower edge

of the roll which furnished the raw material to the forger. The second edge, on the other hand, is sharply cut with a penknife or scissors ; it is the cutting made by the forger immediately under the last line of the square Hebrew characters.

"I advise all the impartial scholars who would thoroughly inform themselves as to this gross imposition, and to whom may be permitted an examination which is denied to me (I know not, or rather, I know very well why), to take the suspected strips, and to lay them against the lower edge of one of the synagogue rolls preserved at the British Museum. The trick will stare them in the face. I will also beg my more favoured fellow students to be kind enough, in order to throw complete light upon a problem (which is no longer one to me), to make certain important investigations, especially the following :—

"(1) To ascertain whether, by chance, there does not remain on the upper portion of the strips traces of the tails of the square Hebrew letters, especially of the final letters which, as we know, descend below the normal line.

"(2) To see if the back of the leather does not materially differ in appearance from the face of it, and whether it has not been left in the raw state, as on the synagogue rolls.

"(3) To take the average height of all the strips, in order to obtain from them the greatest height, which will enable us to determine the height of the original margin of the roll (or the rolls) that supplied the forger. I can at once affirm that on this roll the columns of square Hebrew characters were from 10 to 11 centimètres in breadth, and were separated by blank intervals of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimètres in breadth.

"(4) To ascertain the description of leather, and above all of the thread in the seams.

"Nothing is more easy than to effect the experimental examination which I suggest. Let there be given me a synagogue roll, two or three centuries old, with permission to cut it up. I engage to procure from it strips in every respect similar to the Moabitish strips, and to transcribe upon them in archaic characters the text of Leviticus, for example, or of Numbers. This would make a fitting sequel to the Deuteronomy of Mr. Shapira, but would have the slight advantage over it of not costing quite a million sterling.

"Who is the forger? That is a question which it does not concern me to answer, nor even to raise. I will merely call attention to the fact that he can only be a person familiar with Hebrew, and who has had before his eyes exact copies of the Moabite Stone.

"One word in conclusion. It would be interesting to learn whether the forger has completely destroyed the synagogue roll from which he has cut the strips required for the imposition. Certainly elementary prudence would have required the annihilation of this *corpus delicti*. Nevertheless, the Hebrew text remaining intact, after the abstraction of the lower margin, and these synagogue rolls having a fixed market value, it is not impossible, although it would have been at a serious risk, that the forger

should have tried to make something by it, and to 'kill two birds with one stone.' If ever a synagogue roll should be met with without a lower margin, it will be well to try if, by chance, the Moabitish strips would not fit it.

"CLERMONT-GANNEAU.'

"42, *Great Russell Street, August* 18."

"*To the Editor of the "Times."*

"Sir,—As my name has been mentioned in a letter published in the *Times* concerning this manuscript, I should be glad to be allowed to make a few remarks on the subject. I have no remembrance of having seen the fragments in question before they came to London, but have since had an opportunity of examining them, and, after comparing them with other manuscripts, true and forged, which I have seen in the East, I had no hesitation in concluding that the supposed fragments of Deuteronomy were deliberate forgeries. During the course of my visits to Moab in 1881–2, I had frequent conversations with the Bedawin concerning the Moabite Stone and other antiquities, and I collected four Nabathean texts, which are shortly to be published. I never heard any Arab speak of the supposed find of Mr. Shapira's manuscript, but what I did hear from all the Arabs was that persons from Jerusalem had buried pottery in Moab, which they afterwards dug up in the presence of Europeans, and represented to be ancient. They showed me the places where these articles were buried, and named the persons concerned. The pottery in question was pronounced in 1873-4 by English and French *savants* to be forged. The alphabet of the pottery inscriptions was the same as that of the present manuscript, save for the introduction in the former of Himyaritic letters among the Phœnician forms. Some fragments of similar pottery have been shown to me by Mr. Shapira, and I understood that the Arabs represented these as having been found with the manuscript.

"Forgeries of coins, inscriptions, and manuscripts are common in Jerusalem, Nâblus, Beyrout, Sidon, &c., and are often attributed to the poorer class of Jewish adventurers in those towns. In the present instance, it would be satisfactory to know the name of the tribe which discovered the manuscript. The only name yet given is that of Sheikh Mahmûd Arekat, who is not a Bedawin chief, but only a fellah chief of Abu Dis, near Jerusalem. The names of the Moabite chiefs and tribes I have carefully ascertained, and could say whether the district east of Aroer on Arnon belongs to any one of them or not.

"The use of square Hebrew by the Jews we have now traced in Palestine to a period earlier than the Christian era, and we know that the Palmyrenes and other trans-Jordanic peoples were using a similar alphabet about that time. The manuscript under consideration is therefore (if it be genuine) more than 2,000 years old. I do not think any archæologist will suppose that leather, as limp and supple as that on which this manuscript is written, could exist for such a length of time in the damp atmosphere of a country

which has a rainfall of 20 inches. Having explored many hundreds of caves and tombs, I know well the mouldy smell of such excavations, and the rapid decay of frescoes not more than 600 years old on their walls. We know that the Accadians and Assyrians used papyrus and parchment, but not a fragment of their books is known to remain. The tattered fragments of our oldest Hebrew manuscript are not older than the seventh century A.D., and the condition of the famous oldest Samaritan roll at Shechem (a document which I have three times examined, and which, from the character of its letters, is not older than, perhaps, the sixth century A.D.) contrasts in an extraordinary manner with that of Mr. Shapira's leather leaves, supposed to be at least 1,400 years older, as does the faded colour of the letters with the very distinct black ink of the Shapira manuscript. It is only in the dry, rainless Theban desert that really ancient papyri (some 3,000 to 4,000 years old) have been found, or are likely to have survived, and the condition of such papyri before they are unrolled is very different from that of the supple leather of the new manuscript, which, however, is not unlike the forged manuscripts which have been offered for sale at Nâblus. It is quite a misnomer to speak of Mr. Shapira's leaves as embalmed, although they are said to have been found with a mummy.

"As regards the same mummy, I would ask, finally, whether this assertion alone is not sufficiently suspicious. Exploration has shown us that the Jews, the Israelites, and the Phœnicians never mummified the dead. Their tombs are not constructed to contain mummy cases. East of Jordan the survey party found that the Moabites used the same tombs as the Jews, and even smaller chambers in rocks. We should be forced, then, to conclude that an Egyptian was buried in the Moabite desert, after being converted to Judaism by some unknown sect, who wrote in the Dibon alphabet, and not in that of Western Palestine, as now known in the Siloam Inscription. A more improbable set of assumptions could hardly be conceived, yet the difficulty of the great age which it is necessary to suppose leather to be able to attain without rotting in a damp cave is even more fatal to this clever forgery.

"CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E."

"*Guildford, Aug.* 18."

On the 25th another note from M. Clermont-Ganneau was published, giving a diagram showing the folds of the skin, the sutures, &c.

Lastly, the following paper on the subject, written by Dr. Ginsburg to Dr. Bond, of the British Museum, was published in the *Times* of August 27th. It has only to be added that it is now said that the German Professors in Berlin to whom Shapira showed the skins, immediately discovered that the writing was a forgery. That may be so, but no one thought fit to publish his opinion until there was no longer any doubt on the subject existing among English scholars.

"*August* 22, 1883.

"The manuscript of Deuteronomy which Mr. Shapira submitted to us or examination is a forgery.

"As the interest which it has excited is so great, and as the public are waiting to hear the result of our investigation, I shall endeavour to give my reasons for the conclusion I arrived at in as popular a manner as the essentially technical nature of the subject will admit.

"The writing of the manuscript exhibits the oldest alphabetical characters hitherto known. The letters greatly resemble those on the Moabite Stone, *circa* B.C. 900. The document, therefore, pretends to be about B.C. 800–900. This conclusion cannot be set aside by the supposition that extremely archaic forms may have been retained in some districts, either in the east or west of the Jordan, and that the manuscript may therefore only claim to be of about B.C. 200–300. The pretence to extreme antiquity is confirmed by the fact that the text of Deuteronomy in its present form was substantially the same *circa* B.C. 300. This is attested by the Septuagint version of the Petateuch, which, as is generally admitted, was made about that time. As the Shapira manuscript pretends to give an entirely different recension, it presumably claims to exhibit a text prior to B.C. 300.

"The evidence which to my mind convicts the manuscript as a modern forgery is of a twofold nature—viz., external and internal.

"I. The narrow slips of leather on which it is written are cut off from the margin of synagogue scrolls. According to an ancient practice, the Jews in all parts of the world read the Sabbatical lessons from the Pentateuch from manuscript scrolls. Owing to partial defacement or damage, these scrolls frequently become illegal, and are withdrawn from public use. And although the Jews as a rule guard these sacred relics against profanation, and deposit them in receptacles abutting on the synagogues, still the communities in the East, and especially in South Arabia, are driven by poverty to part with them. Hence almost every public library in Europe, and many private collectors, possess such disused parchments or skins belonging to different ages, ranging from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. On the 24th of November, 1877, the British Museum bought a number of these scrolls from Mr. Shapira, which he brought from Yemen. The remarkable part about these scrolls is that (1) some of them are written on similar rough sheepskins to the material on which the Deuteronomy slips are written; (2) the lower margin of some of these scrolls (Comp. Oriental, 1452; Oriental, 1453; Oriental, 1454; Oriental, 1459; Oriental, 1465) is the same width as the height of the Shapira slips; and (3) one of these scrolls—viz., Oriental, 1457, has actually such a cut-off slip fastened to the beginning of Genesis—and this scroll was bought from Mr. Shapira in 1877, the very year in which he declares that he obtained the inscribed slips.

"II. The columns of these scrolls are bounded on the right and left by vertical lines drawn with a hard point. These lines not only extend from the top to the bottom of the written portion, but reach to the very end of

the leather, right across the upper and lower margins. Now, the Shapira fragments exhibit these lines with the dry point, but not as boundaries to the margin, for the writing on them extends on each side beyond the lines, thus confirming the theory that they originally formed the ruled margins of legally written scrolls. What is still more remarkable is the fact that the uninscribed slip already mentioned has also these guiding lines, and that they correspond to the inscribed Shapira fragments.

"III. The upper and lower margins are very rough, ragged, and worn in the old scrolls, as will be seen in scroll Oriental, 1456, and Oriental, 1457. Now, many of the Shapira slips are only ragged at the bottom, but straight at the top, thus plainly showing that they have been comparatively recently cut off from the scrolls, since they have not had time to become ragged at the top.

"IV. Some of the slips show plainly that they have been covered by a frame which inclosed the writing, and that this frame was filled with chemical agents. The result of this is to be seen in the fact that, while the inscribed part has thereby been rendered perfectly black and shiny, the part of the leather covered by the frame is of a different and fresher colour, and exhibits the shape of the frame.

"As to the internal evidence, it will be seen from the following analysis of the documents that there were no less than four or five different persons engaged in the production of the forgery, and that the compiler of the Hebrew text was a Polish, Russian, or German Jew, or one who had learned Hebrew in the North of Europe.

"I. Taking for granted that because the canonical text already contains two recensions of the Decalogue, no insurmountable objection would be raised against a third recension, provided it exhited the Biblical precepts, the forger manifestly made the Ten Commandments the groundwork of his text. Accordingly, he not only modelled the Decalogue after the pattern of Leviticus xviii and xix, but derived his additions from those chapters. Thus the refrain 'I am God thy God,' which he inserted ten times, is simply a variation of the longer refrain 'I am the Lord your God,' which occurs exactly ten times at the end of ten precepts or groups of precepts in Leviticus (xviii, 2, 4, 30 ; xix, 2, 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34). Again, what is here the Seventh Commandment is made up from Leviticus xix, 12, while the additional Tenth Commandment is simply Leviticus xix, 17.

"II. Though Deuteronomy xxvii, 11–14 orders that the representatives of the twelve tribes are to place themselves on Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, in order to recite the blessings and the curses for the observance and the transgression of certain precepts, yet the maledictions only are given (verses 15–26). This manifestly suggested to the forger the idea of supplying the benedictions. In accordance with his plan, therefore, he not only filled up the gap with ten beatitudes, but made these ten benedictions harmonise with his version of the Ten Commandments.

"III. Equally manifest is his design in altering the maledictions contained in the canonical text of Deuteronomy xxvii, 15–26. The additions,

omissions, and insertions in the Shapira slips are palpably so framed as to yield ten maledictions to range round the Ten Commandments according to the forger's version of them.

"To impart to the document the appearance of antiquity, the forger not only imitated closely the archaic writing of the inscription on the Moabite Stone, but adopted the expressions which are to be found on this lapidary document. Thus, for instance, in the Decalogue, which, as I have already shown, forms the central point of the forged text, the forger not only separated the words, but put a full stop after every expression, exactly as it is on the Moabite Stone; the only exceptions being the particles *eth*, which is the sign of the accusative, and *lo*, which is the negative. That the forger used the Moabite Inscription as a model is, moreover, to be seen from the following facts. He exchanged the word rendered 'before time' in the Authorised Version (Deut. ii, 12) for the word *meolam*—'from of old,' because it occurs in this ancient inscription. Again, in describing the Moabite territory, the forger mentions Moab, Aroer, Jahaz, and the Arnon, because these four names are to be found on the Moabite Stone; but he omits Paran, Tophel, Laban, Hazeroth, and Dizahab (which occur in Deut. i, 1) simply because they are not to be found in the Moabite Inscription.

"V. My reason for concluding that the compiler of the text was a Jew from the North of Europe is that certain errors in spelling which occur in this document can only be accounted for on this hypothesis. Thus the Jews in Poland, Russia, and Germany pronounce the undageshed *caph* and the gattural letter *cheth* alike. Hence, when the compiler of the text dictated to the scribe the word *chebel*, the latter spelled it *kebel*, with *caph*; and *vice versâ*, when the compiler told him to write the expression which denotes 'of their drink-offerings,' and which is written with *caph*, the copyist spelled it with *cheth*. In the North of Europe, moreover, the Jews pronounce alike the letters *teth* and *tau*. This accounts for the otherwise inexplicable spelling in this document of the word rendered 'frontlets' in our Authorised Version.

"VI. The compiler of the text, who was a tolerable adept in writing Hebrew, could not have been familiar with the Phœnician characters exhibited in these slips, or he would assuredly have read over the transcript and have detected those errors. He would especially have noticed the transposition of the two letters in the predicate applied to God, which, instead of saying He was 'angry,' declares that He 'committed adultery.'

"From the fact that the slips exhibit two distinct hand-writings, I conclude that there were two scribes employed in copying them. These, with the compiler of the Hebrew text and the chemist who manipulated the slips, account for my remark that there were four or five persons engaged in the forgery.

"Christian D. Ginsburg."

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

I HAVE allowed two years to pass without writing again on the Siloam Inscription, partly because it was being well looked after by German scholars, partly also from want of leisure. Thanks to the labours of Dr. Guthe the text of it is now as fairly established as it ever will be, and the casts that are in Europe permit it to be examined with that minute care which the actual position of the inscription makes almost impossible. I must begin by formally retracting my objections to the readings אמת and במאתים in the second and fifth lines which I urged two years ago. The casts leave no doubt that I was wrong, and Dr. Guthe right. In most other points I agree with the readings and interpretation of the German scholars, as embodied in Dr. Guthe's article in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft," xxxvi, 3, 4. I should now, therefore, give the following translation of the text :—

1. "(Behold) the excavation! Now this had been the history of the excavation. While the workmen were still lifting up
2. "the axe, each towards his neighbour, and while three cubits still remained to (cut through), (each heard) the voice of the other who called
3. "to his neighbour since there was an excess in the rock on the right hand and on (the left). And on the day of the
4. "excavation the workmen struck, each to meet his neighbour, axe against axe, and there flowed
5. "the waters from the spring to the pool for a thousand two hundred cubits; and . . .
6. "of a cubit was the height of the rock over the heads of the workmen."

The most curious thing about the inscription is the absence in it of any proper name. The name neither of the king who caused the tunnel to be made, nor of the engineer who executed the work, is mentioned. The omission is rendered all the more curious by the fact that the upper part of the tablet in which the inscription is engraved is left bare, the inscription beginning about half-way down—in fact, just where it would be concealed by the water. There seems only one possible explanation of strange a circumstance. There must have been an official quarrel, and the engineer, naturally desirous of commemorating the feat he had performed, engraved the record of it in a place where it would not be discovered. At the same time I do not understand why he should not have recorded his own name.

The question as to the date of the inscription is no nearer settlement than it was two years ago. It is pretty well agreed now that no argument can be derived from the form of the letters—except in so far as they prove that the inscription is older than the middle of the sixth century, B.C., —since we have no early Hebrew monuments with which to compare

them. The question must be decided on historical, and not on palæographical grounds.

Now we gather from the Books of Kings and Chronicles that there were only two building periods in the pre-exilic history of Jerusalem—those, namely, of Solomon and Hezekiah. The majority of those who have commented on the inscription ascribe it to the age of Hezekiah; I am still inclined, with hesitation, to assign it to the age of Solomon. Canon Birch, in the last number but one of the *Quarterly Statement*, seems to think that the matter can be easily disposed of by a simple reference to the fact that 2 Kings xx, 20, speaks of "*the* pool," and "*the* conduit." But there is all the difference in the world between referring to "the pool" and "the conduit" which Hezekiah made, and the statement of the inscription that the waters flowed "from the spring to the pool." Here "the pool" is correlated to "the spring," or "exit," and no one, I suppose, will assert that there was more than one spring. Moreover, the word translated "conduit" is תעלה, which is not the same as the נקבה, or "tunnel," of the inscription. On the other hand, the passage in Kings goes on to add that Hezekiah "brought the water to (*not* into) the city," which the chronicler (2 Chron. xxxii, 30) supplements by saying that it was "directed downwards on the west side of the city of David," after that the "exit," or "spring of the waters of the upper Gihon," had been sealed up. This would exactly suit the position of the Pool of Siloam.

It would also suit, though not so well, the tunnel discovered by Colonel Warren, which leads, like the Siloam Tunnel, into the Virgin's Spring. This second tunnel ends in a perpendicular shaft, which communicates with another subterranean passage, partly sloping, partly horizontal, the whole terminating in a flight of steps in a vaulted chamber cut out of the rock. The Roman lamps and other relics found in the chamber and passage show that the tunnel was used by the inhabitants for obtaining water up to a late period. Now this second tunnel best suits the verb "he directed," employed by the chronicler, whereas the adverb "downwards" applies naturally to the Siloam conduit.

It must, however, be remembered that this second tunnel is in connection with the Siloam one, a perpendicular shaft descending to the latter below the vaulted chamber, and appears, therefore, to be of later origin. The overflow of the water in it, in fact, must have made its way through the Siloam aqueduct into the Siloam Pool. It is obviously to this tunnel that we should have to apply the passage in Kings if it stood alone.

Whatever, however, may be thought of the statements in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, I do not see how it is possible to explain away the words of Isaiah, who writes of the topography of Jerusalem, not as it existed some centuries earlier, but as it was in his own day. What Mr. Birch means by a "newly-found aqueduct," in addition to the Siloam Tunnel, I fail to comprehend any more than Captain Conder, "since," as the latter remarks, "there is but one aqueduct from the Virgin's Fountain to Siloam—that, namely, in which the inscription is engraved." Now in

a prophecy delivered during the reign of Ahaz, Isaiah (viii, 6) contrasts the waters of Shiloah, that go softly," with the Euphrates (or rather Tigris). Unless the Kidron is referred to, only the Siloam Tunnel can be meant, since there was no other "softly-flowing" watercourse in or near Jerusalem. And that the Kidron is not referred to is shown partly by the epithet given to the waters, partly by the name Shiloah, which signifies an artificial aqueduct. But this passage does not stand alone. In Isaiah vii, 3, the prophet states that he was directed to meet Ahaz "at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool, in the highway of the fuller's field." Now the topography of Jerusalem makes it clear that the fuller's field could have been only at the southern entrance into the Tyropœon valley, where water for fulling could be obtained from the Kidron and En-rogel, the modern Bîr Eyyub, as well as a strip of level ground. This is fully confirmed by the name of En-rogel, "the fuller's fountain." Consequently, on the road from the city towards En-rogel, a conduit must have led from an upper pool into a lower one, which is called the Lower Pool in Isaiah xxii, 9. This conduit can only be the rock-cut channel which still leads from the Pool of Siloam into the old reservoir below. As Isaiah, in the passage just quoted, ascribes the construction of the Lower Pool to Hezekiah, I am inclined to think that this is really the reservoir referred to in 2 Kings xx, 20, and that the chronicler has confused "the exit of the waters of the upper Gihon," or "spring," from which the water originally came, with the Upper Pool of Siloam. It is, however, possible that he merely means to say that Hezekiah, after sealing up the Virgin's Spring, lengthened the channel through which its waters were conveyed into the city, and so "directed them downwards on the west side of the city of David." Perhaps, indeed, this is the most natural interpretation of his words. Dr. Guthe has discovered the remains of four other old reservoirs in the neighbourhood of the Pool of Siloam, all of which may have been supplied with water from the Siloam Tunnel. If these had existed, or, indeed, if only the Lower Pool had existed at the time the inscription was written, it is difficult to understand how the Siloam Pool could have been termed "*the* pool." In fact, if the reservoirs discovered by Dr. Guthe were supplied with the refuse-water of the Upper Pool, as the Lower Pool certainly was, the Upper Pool must have been the first of them that was made.

My conclusions are, then, the following. The passage in 2 Kings xx, 20, applies most naturally to Colonel Warren's tunnel. That in 2 Chronicles xxxii, 30, must be interpreted of the Lower Pool of Siloam. The contemporary references of Isaiah (vii, 3; viii, 6; xxii, 9) apply only to the Siloam Tunnel, the Siloam Pool, and the Lower Pool, which was repaired by Hezekiah, who changed it from a rain-water cistern into a reservoir supplied with water from the Siloam Tunnel.[1] The Siloam Tunnel must consequently have been in existence before the time of Ahaz, and since

[1] I do not see what other sense can be attached to the expression, "ye collected the waters." Besides, an Upper Pool already existed in the time of Ahaz (Isa. vii, 3).

the only great builder known to the Books of Kings before that epoch was Solomon, we are justified in ascribing the construction of it to him. After all, this conclusion is only in harmony with probabilities. When Solomon was executing great public works in Jerusalem, and completing its fortifications, it is hardly likely that he would have allowed his capital to depend only upon rain-water in time of siege. Dr. Guthe has pointed out that, according to the Septuagint, Solomon "cut through the city of David."

Why then, it will be asked, is no mention made of the excavation of the conduit among the other works of Solomon? I will reply by asking another question: Why is it that no king is mentioned in the Siloam Inscription? The answer in each case must be the same—there had been an official quarrel, and the fame of the engineer who "cut through the city of David" was not allowed to go down to posterity.

I can see only one valid objection to the conclusion at which I have arrived. Solomon's workmen were Phœnicians, and nevertheless the Siloam Inscription is in the purest Hebrew. But it must be remembered that it was only Hiram, the brassfounder, and the Sidonian hewers of timber that came from Phœnicia; the stonecutters were partly Tyrians and Gebalites, partly Hebrews (1 Kings v, 18).

Whether or not, however, the Siloam inscription can be assigned to a precise chronological period, it has, I believe, thrown most important light on the topography of pre-exilic Jerusalem. Mr. Birch seems to me indubitably right in holding that the city of David stood on the so-called hill of Ophel. In fact no other view is now possible. But it further follows from this that the Tyropœon valley was the valley of the son of Hinnom. This will explain why the older name of the Tyropœon has never hitherto been discovered, and it will also explain why the tombs of the Jewish kings have not been found. They lie concealed under the rubbish that covers the southern slope of Ophel. If we are to discover the relics of royal Jerusalem we must excavate the Tyropœon valley, at the bottom of which probably lie the ruins that were thrown into it by the soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar.[1]

The hill on which the city of David stood was the original Mount Zion, a name which was afterwards extended to the Temple-hill, the proper designation of which seems to have been Moriah (or Moreh?); see 2 Chronicles iii, 1; Genesis xxii, 2, 14. Here I believe to have been the city of Jebus. At all events, the proverb quoted in 2 Samuel v, 8—"the blind and the lame shall not enter the temple"—implies that the

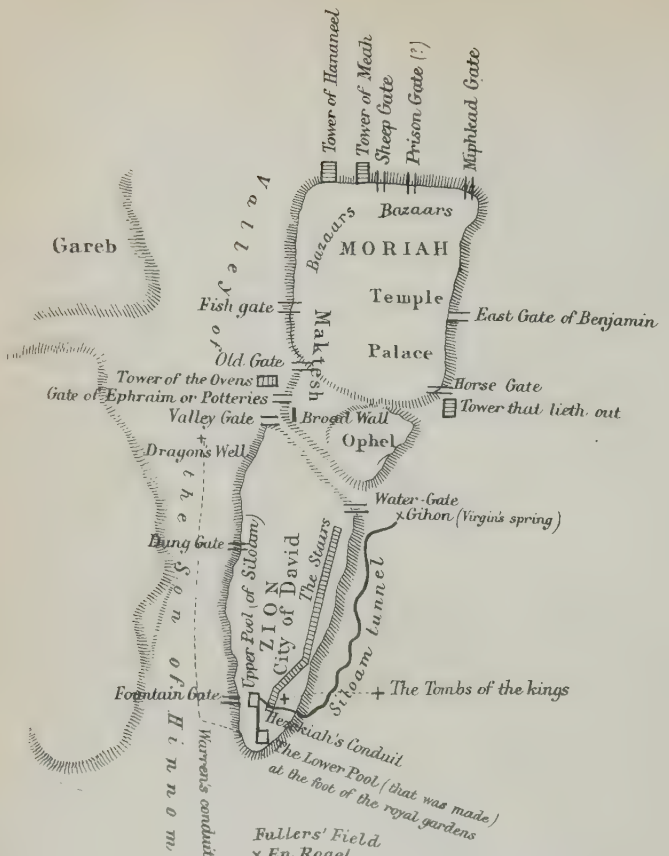
[1] The determination of the position of the valley of the son of Hinnom settles that of "the mountain that is over against the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of Rephaim northward" (Josh. xv, 8; xviii, 16). This mountain is either Bezetha, or that on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, or that to the south of it, which has been erroneously identified with Zion. It is more probably the last. Professor Robertson Smith has already pointed out in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" that the valley of the son of Hinnom must be represented by the Tyropœon.

Jebusites, whose city was stormed, inhabited the higher Temple-hill. David had already that day taken "the stronghold of Zion" on the lower hill.[1] This stronghold was merely an outpost, or isolated tower, and it was accordingly on the lower unhabited hill that David built his new city, named in consequence "the city of David." The Jebusites still continued to live on the higher hill of Moriah, as we may infer from the fact that Araunah had his private threshing-floor there towards the close of David's reign. This will explain why we find so many cisterns on the area of the Harám. When Solomon swept away the houses of the old Jebusite city to make room for his palaces and the temple, he reduced their inhabitants to a state of serfdom (1 Kings ix, 20, 21), and transferred them, under the name of Nethinim, or "Temple-servants," to Ophel, the north-eastern portion of Mount Zion (see Nehemiah iii, 26, 31).[2] Between Moriah and Zion Dr. Guthe has found traces of an old valley which opened into the valley of the Kidron, not far from the Virgin's Spring. Here must have been the two walls between which Hezekiah made the "gathering-place," or tank, "for the water of the old pool" (Isa. xxii, 11), and here, too, was the gate through which Zedekiah fled along the valley of the son of Hinnom, "by the way of the king's garden," past En-rogel and Mar-Saba, to the plain of Jericho (Jer. xxxix, 4; lii, 7). This gate was probably the "Potteries' Gate" of Jeremiah xix, 2.

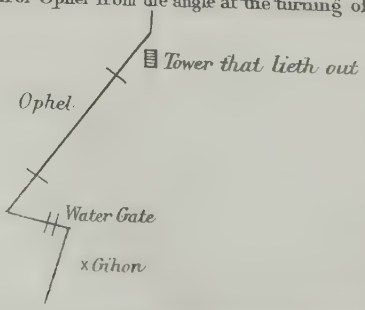
The enclosure of Moriah and Zion within a single wall created the city of Jerusalem. The name is written Ur-salímu, or "city of peace," in the Assyrian inscriptions, which goes to show that those scholars are right who have supposed the name to signify "the peaceful town," in spite of

[1] *Mĕtsudháh* and *mĕtsádh* are always used of isolated forts, situated in uninhabited spots. That Jebus, or the city of the Jebusites, occupied Moriah is further indicated in Joshua xv, 8 (and xviii, 16), where we read that "the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusite from the south; that is, Jerusalem." The "south" is explained by the previous verse to be En-rogel (the Bîr Eyyub). "The shoulder of the Jebusite" will be the spur of Zion, on which the "stronghold stood." Its proper name may have been Eleph; see Joshua xviii, 28—"Eleph and the Jebusite, which is Jerusalem," and Zechariah ix, 7, where Halévy proposes to read, "he shall be as Eleph in Judah, and Ekron as Jebusi." According to Joshua xv, 63, the Jews lived along with the Jebusites at Jerusalem; according to Judges i, 21, the Benjamites did so, but in Judges xix, 10–12, Jebus is "the city of a stranger." However, we find both Jews and Benjamites in Jerusalem in Nehemiah xi, 4, and 1 Chronicles ix, 3.

[2] We learn from Ezra viii, 20, that some of the Nethinim had been "given" by David to the service of the Levites before the temple had been begun; in Nehemiah vii, 46-60, these are carefully distinguished from "Solomon's servants." The first seem to have been the Jebusites who were taken by David with arms upon them; the second to have been those who, like Araunah, were allowed to live in their old quarters until after David's death. Besides the colony of the Nethinim on Ophel there were others who inhabited the portion of the Temple-hill north of the Temple.



Sketch-map of the well of Ophel from the angle at the turning of the corner:-



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the difficulty occasioned by the loss of the *'ain* in the first element of which it is composed. I am however more inclined to see in this first element a play upon Yĕru, "a cairn," which we may gather from Genesis xxii ("in the mount of the Lord is יראה") was the name of a locality on Moriah. Isaiah (xxix, 1, 2) similarly plays on the name by turning it into Ari-el. The title "city of peace" may well have been given to David's capital when his foreign wars had been ended, and the name of Solomon, "the peaceful," had been given to his son Jedidiah. The dual form Yĕrushalaim, which apparently goes back to the time of the Macchabees, probably refers to the old division of Jerusalem into the lower city and the Temple-hill.

A. H. Sayce.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF PRÆ-EXILIC JERUSALEM.

In my paper on the Siloam Inscription, I have tried to show how closely the question of the date to which the inscription is to be assigned is connected with that of the topography of ancient Jerusalem. The key to the whole position is the fact that the south-eastern hill, the so-called Ophel, represents Zion, the City of David. This fact once granted—and it is now no longer possible to deny it—not only does the rest of the topography of præ-exilic Jerusalem become clear, but the Solomonic date of the Siloam Inscription, as it seems to me, follows unavoidably. It may assist the reader if I here summarise the arguments which I have urged in its behalf.

(1) Our knowledge of the water-supply of ancient Jerusalem is derived from three passages of Isaiah, a passage in the Books of Kings, and another in the Books of Chronicles. Only the first three passages are contemporaneous with the state of things to which they allude; their testimony is therefore superior to that of the other two passages, and should be considered first.

(2) According to Isaiah vii, 3, in the time of Ahaz, the prophet met the king "at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field" (see also Isaiah xxxvi, 2). The fuller's field adjoined the Bîr Eyyûb; the upper pool, consequently, must be the Pool of Siloam, and the conduit the tunnel which conducts the water into it.

(3) In Isaiah viii, 6, also in the time of Ahaz, the prophet refers to "the waters of Shiloah that go softly," in contrast to the waters of the Tigris. The only softly-going waters at Jerusalem, conducted through the Shiloah, or "artificial aqueduct," were those of the Siloam Tunnel.

(4) In Isaiah xxii, 9, at the time of the invasion of Sargon (B.C. 711), and consequently in the reign of Hezekiah, the Jews are said to have "gathered together the waters of the lower pool." As "the lower pool" implies an "upper pool," the lower Pool of Siloam must be meant, and the

collecting of the waters in it must refer to some work by which it was supplied with water from the Virgin's Spring (the only spring in or near Jerusalem), instead of depending, as before, upon the rainfall alone. That is to say, the conduit which leads from the upper to the lower Pool of Siloam must have been cut through the rock at this time.

(5) This is expressly stated in 2 Chronicles xxxii, 30, unless this passage is to be interpreted in a sense contradictory to the evidence of Isaiah. The chronicler tells us that after sealing up "the exit of the waters of the Upper Gihon," which was outside the walls (see verse 3), Hezekiah directed them in a straight line, downwards, on the western side of the City of David. There is no other watercourse except the conduit leading from the upper to the lower Pool of Siloam which answers to this description.

(6) The passage in 2 Kings xx, 20—Hezekiah "brought water city-wards"—is two vague for any conclusions to be drawn from it, though it would most naturally refer to Warren's tunnel.

(7) The Siloam Tunnel must, therefore, have existed in the reign of Ahaz, and since we know of no Jewish king before Hezekiah who was a great builder, except Solomon, we are justified in ascribing its construction to him.

(8) This is confirmed by the Septuagint version of 1 Kings iii, which states that Solomon "cut through the City of David," an expression which can apply only to the Siloam Tunnel.

(9) It is, moreover, most improbable that Solomon, who constructed the fortifications of Jerusalem, should have allowed the only spring in the neighbourhood of his capital to remain outside the walls, without attempting to supply the city with something less precarious in time of siege than rain-water.

I have already remarked that, as Dr. Guthe and Mr. Birch have observed, the Upper Gihon of the chronicler, with its *motsâ*, or "exit," must be the Virgin's Spring, the *motsâ* of which is mentioned in the Siloam Inscription. Indeed, since Gihon means "a natural spring," it is hard to understand how any one with a knowledge of Hebrew could ever have supposed that it represented an artificial reservoir. Dr. Guthe has evidently hit upon the right explanation of the epithet "upper," which is applied to it. The compiler of the Books of Kings still knew only of one Gihon (1 Kings i, 33, 45; so also 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14); but after the exile what Isaiah called "the end of the conduit" came to be regarded as a second spring of water, in consequence of the aqueduct made by Hezekiah to the lower pool, so that the Virgin's Spring—that is to say, the original Gihon—was termed the Upper Gihon, and the lower outlet of the Siloam Tunnel the Lower Gihon, or perhaps Gihon simply.

Dr. Guthe's recent excavations and researches have brought to light two important facts. First of all, the Solomonic wall of Jerusalem enclosed both the upper and the lower Pools of Siloam; and secondly, a valley or depression formerly ran from the Tyropœon to the Kidron valley, entering the latter a little above the Virgin's Spring. With these

facts in our hands, we can, I believe, restore the topography of Jerusalem as it existed in the time of the Kings.

As I have already pointed out, and as Professor Robertson Smith has perceived, the determination of the City of David shows that the Tyropœon was the old valley of the son of Hinnom. Into this the western gates of the præ-exilic Jerusalem must have opened. What these gates were we learn from Nehemiah.

Nehemiah "went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon-well" (Neh. ii, 13). We gather from chapter iii that this gate was on the same side of the city as the Pool of Siloah, so that "the valley" must be the Tyropœon. It is called הַגַּיְא, in contradistinction to "the brook-valley" (הַנַּחַל) of the Kidron. Jeremiah (xxxi, 40) terms it "the vale (*êmek*) of the dead bodies and of the ashes," since it was to be choked with the ashes of Jerusalem, and the corpses of its defenders, by way of punishment for the human victims that had been burnt in it to Moloch (see Jer. xix, 6, 7, 11–13). The dragon-well must now be buried under the rubbish that fills the valley. Possibly it stood in connection with the old rock-cut drain or conduit discovered by Warren on the western side of the south-eastern hill.

As Nehemiah had to pass "the dung port" and "the gate of the fountain" before he reached the brook Kidron (ii, 13–15), it is plain that those two gates must also have opened into the Tyropœon. This gives us a clue to the position of the gates enumerated in chapter iii, which I shall now examine in detail.

Nehemiah here begins with the sheep-gate, and the towers of Meah and Hananeel, which defended it on the western side (Neh. xii, 39). As the sheep gate is mentioned in John v, 2, its position has long been recognised on the northern side of the Temple-hill (Moriah). This agrees with the fact that its restoration was undertaken by "Eliashib the high priest, with his brethren the priests," the natural guardians of the Temple-hill. Since Jeremiah (xxxi, 38) describes Jerusalem as extending from the tower of Hananeel to the gate of the corner in the extreme south-east, it must have been the most northern portion of the city, lying probably on the north-west, and thus occupying the site of the later tower of Antonia. See also Zechariah xiv, 10 (where "the king's winepresses" would naturally be in the king's garden, at the mouth of the Tyropœon).

The next gate mentioned by Nehemiah is the fish-gate (verse 3). This must have been on the west side of Moriah, and have opened into the Tyropœon, since the enumeration proceeds, after the notice of two or three more gates, to the mention of the valley-gate (verse 13), and the pool of Siloah by the king's garden (verse 15); we must therefore be moving from north to south on the western side of the city. According to 2 Chronicles xxxiii, 14, Manasseh built a wall all round the fortified part of the City of David, beginning with the sloping cliff west of the Virgin's Spring, which is described as "in the brook valley" of the Kidron, and ending with the fish-gate, from which it would appear that the fish-gate stood at the

western exit of the valley discovered by Dr. Guthe, which separated Zion from Moriah. Hence we can understand why Zephaniah (i, 10, 11) associates it with Maktesh, the merchant quarter of Jerusalem, and contrasts the "cry" heard from it with the "great crashing from the hills" on either side. Maktesh is further called the "second" city by Zephaniah, and it was here that Huldah lived, according to 2 Kings xxii, 14 (where the Authorised Version mistranslates "college"), the full expression appearing in Nehemiah xi, 9, where we read that "Judah, the son of Senuah, was over the second city."[1] The foreign merchants are termed by Zephaniah "the people of Canaan," or Phœnicia, and according to Nehemiah xiii, 16, "men of Tyre" dwelt in Jerusalem, "which brought fish." Hence, evidently, the name of the gate, which was the nearest and most accessible to travellers who approached the city from the sea-coast.

The "old gate" (verse 6) may have been the one by which the Jebusite town was entered. To the south of it came "the throne of the governor beyond the river"—which was possibly set up in the *birah* or "castle adjoining the temple" (Neh. ii, 8; vii, 2),—and "the broad wall." This protected the bazaars of the goldsmiths and perfumers (verse 8). Here "the half part of Jerusalem" seems to have ended, since the next piece of wall was built by "Rephaiah, the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem;" while after a short interval, which was mainly filled with "the tower of the furnaces," the wall was continued by "Shallum, the son of Halohesh, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem." At this point, we may assume, Zion, or the City of David, was supposed to begin.

The "tower of the furnaces," or rather "ovens," was probably near "the bakers' street" (Jer. xxxvii, 21). Here, at any rate, were the public ovens, built of the clay found in the valley below. It must have been in this part of the Tyropœon that the potteries were situated, which gave their name to "the gate of the potteries," mistranslated "east gate" in the A. V. (Jer. xix, 2). The gate of the potteries seems to be the valley-gate of Nehemiah, which, like the gate of the potteries, led immediately into the valley beneath. This valley-gate lay a thousand cubits to the north of the dung-gate (verse 13), so called, perhaps, from the dung which was here thrown over the cliff into the valley. South of it was "the gate of the fountain," and south of that the wall which enclosed "the pool of Siloah" (or, rather, "the aqueduct") "by the king's garden," and extended "as far as the stairs that go down from the City of David" (verse 15). Remains of these stairs have been discovered by Schick and Guthe a little to the east of the Pool of Siloam, and Dr. Guthe points out that they must have run as far as a point, inside the walls, a little to the south of the Virgin's Spring, since he has found traces of steps here. In the preceding chapter (iii, 14) Nehemiah has called "the pool of the aqueduct" (or "the Siloah") "the king's pool," from which we may infer that the king's pool was so named

[1] It would appear from this that Moriah was divided into two quarters, the first, on the south-eastern side, being known as the upper or "first city," while "the second city" lay below it on the west.

from its adjoining the king's garden. We learn from Nehemiah xii, 37, that the stairs led by "the house of David," which may be "the tower of David" mentioned in Cant. iv, 4, and used as an armoury, under which name it is alluded to in Nehemiah iii, 19. At all events the garden attached to David's palace must have lain on the slope or at the foot of the hill on which the palace stood, and was not likely to have been resigned by Solomon when he transferred his residence to the temple-hill. The king, therefore, after whom the garden and the reservoir were named, would have been either David or Solomon. I believe that the garden is the same, or partly the same, as that called "the garden of Uzza" in 2 Kings xxi, 18, 26, which could not have been far from the sepulchres of David, in which the successors of Hezekiah were not buried apparently because there was no longer sufficient room. We hear of an Uzza in 2 Samuel vi, and 1 Chronicles xiii, who died while touching the ark close to the threshing-floor of Nachon or Chidon, the spot being consequently called Perez-Uzzah. The threshing-floor must have been in a level but breezy spot, such as that at the entrance of the Tyropœon, and the context shows that it must have been close to the ascent to the City of David. I conclude, therefore, that when Manasseh built the outer wall round the City of David (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14), he built also a house for himself in the place known as the garden of Uzza, both garden and house being enclosed by the new wall.[1] It is, perhaps, a fragment of this wall that has been discovered by Colonel Warren south of the Birket el-*h*amra.

The fountain-gate may have derived its name from the Pool of Siloam, though I am more inclined to think that the fountain meant was that of En-rogel, the modern Bîr Eyyûb. It was the nearest gate to the latter, and probably opened upon "the highway of the fuller's field." It must have been just outside it that Isaiah met Ahaz (Isa. vii, 3), and that the Rab-shakeh delivered the message of Sennacherib to Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah, who had "gone forth to him" (Isa. xxxvi, 3).

The piece of wall following that which protected the Pool of Siloam extended "to the pool that was made and the house of the warriors," and was "in sight of the sepulchres of David." These were hewn in the cliffs above it, as we learn from 2 Chronicles xxxii, 33 ("the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David"), and Isaiah xxii, 16, and were accordingly enclosed by the wall. The position assigned to them by Nehemiah shows that Professor Robertson Smith is wrong in transferring the tombs to the neighbourhood of the temple-hill on the strength of Ezekiel xliii, 7, 9. Ezekiel merely declares here that the whole of the new Jerusalem, and not the temple-hill only, shall be dedicated to God, and, consequently, that no part of it shall be defiled henceforward by the corpses of its kings. There is nothing to indicate in what precise part of the city the tombs were.

The localisation of the royal sepulchres explains, as I have already

[1] Manasseh's building operations took place after his return from Babylon. Possibly he found the old palace on Moriah in a ruinous condition, and while restoring it occupied David's house in the lower city.

remarked, why they have never yet been found. Only excavation can bring them to light. It also explains why David originally fixed upon this particular site as the burying-place of himself and his family. It adjoined his palace, and doubtless formed part of the ground belonging to it. We learn from the cuneiform records that the Babylonian kings were buried within the precincts of their palaces, and that this was also the case at Jerusalem is shown by 2 Kings xxi, 18; 2 Chronicles xxxiii, 20. The "house of the warriors" must have been the barracks of David's body-guard, whose technical title was *Gibborim* (2 Sam. xxiii, 8; cf. xi, 9).

It follows from the description of Nehemiah that "the pool that was made" was the lower Pool of Siloam. Now it has long been recognised that this pool was the one enlarged by Hezekiah, and provided with fresh water by means of his conduit. Here, therefore, is another proof that the pool constructed by Hezekiah was the lower Pool of Siloam, and that his conduit is not the Siloam Tunnel, but the aqueduct which leads from it to the lower reservoir. The remains of the pool have been found by Dr. Guthe close to Isaiah's tree, and since the city wall forms one of the walls of the reservoir, the latter must have been constructed after the completion of the walls. Indeed, Dr. Guthe has discovered a subterranean channel running under the pool and walls and intended to convey the water of the Tyropœon valley into the valley of the Kidron, the natural course of the water having been destroyed by the fortification of the hill.

The next topographical indication given by Nehemiah is "the ascent to the armoury at the angle" or "turning of the wall" (verse 19). This brings us to the south-eastern extremity of præ-exilic Jerusalem, the corner, in fact, of Jeremiah xxxi, 38. The gate mentioned by Jeremiah as existing here is not noticed by Nehemiah, though possibly it may be the fountain-gate of Nehemiah. There were, however, two corner-gates, since the one referred to by Jeremiah occupies a different position from another mentioned in 2 Kings xiv, 13; 2 Chronicles xxvi, 9, and Zechariah xiv, 10. The latter was only 400 cubits south of the gate of Ephraim, which, as we shall see, was between the broad wall and the old gate, and stood to the north of the valley-gate. It was opposite the gate of Benjamin on the east side of Zion, and was also known as "the first gate." From this it is evident that it constituted the first entrance into the City of David on the north-west side, and must therefore have formed part of the fortifications entrusted to the care of Shallum, "the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem." Hence, further, it must have adjoined the tower of the furnaces, so that this must have been one of the three towers erected by Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi, 9). The other two were at the valley-gate and the angle of the wall, where the foundations of a tower have been discovered.

We are now on the eastern side of the City of David, and Nehemiah's narrative, proceeding in a northward direction, takes us next to the private residence of Eliashib the high priest. Here there was a long stretch of wall, without a gate, the descent into the Kidron valley being too steep to allow of one, until we come to another "corner" or "turning of the wall"

(verse 24). This must be represented by the angle which turns sharply inwards to the west, uncovered by Dr. Guthe a little to the north of the Virgin's Spring. Unfortunately the text of Nehemiah that follows is imperfect, but it would seem from verse 25 that the northern side of the angle faced "the tower which lieth out from the king's high house that was by the court of the prison." We know from Jeremiah xxxii, 2 that the court of the prison was within the precincts of the royal palace. As the palace is stated to be "on high," the tower must have stood below it. Its position is further defined in verse 26, where it is stated that the Nethinim who lived on Ophel repaired the wall "as far as in sight of the water-gate eastward, and the tower which lieth out." The water-gate plainly derived its name from the Virgin's Spring, and a road must have led to the spring from it. From Nehemiah xii, 37 it appears that "the stairs" of the City of David terminated somewhere to the west of the water-gate, which would agree with the position of the steps discovered by Dr. Guthe westward of the Virgin's Spring. The stairs may have led into the broad sheet "before the water-gate" referred to in Nehemiah viii, 1.

"The great tower that lieth out" is again mentioned in verse 27. Here the Tekoites are stated to have "repaired a second portion, from in sight of the great tower that lieth out, and as far as the wall of Ophel." The nature of the ground explains these various statements. The water-gate would have stood on the northern side of the angle already described. Westward of it was another angle formed by the wall which turned off hence to the north-east, its eastern extremity, as has been shown by Warren's excavations, projecting very considerably beyond the first-named angle at "the turning of the wall." Consequently the tower which stood at this extremity would have been opposite the latter angle, though at a good distance from it, the intervening piece of wall forming the boundary of Ophel. Ophel, accordingly, was the rising ground which extended on the east side of Zion from a part of the wall running north of and opposite to the water-gate, as far as another part of the wall a little to the south of the great tower. From this latter spot, as far as the piece of wall which fronted the tower on the west, the fortification was restored by the Tekoites. But this work is described as having been carried on from north to south, instead of from south to north as in all other cases. The reason of this is to be found in the fact that the Tekoites had already repaired a piece of the wall on the western side of Jerusalem, and as this was north of the great tower on the eastern side, when they came to work on this side they began with the northern limit of the work assigned to them instead of the southern.

Ophel, accordingly, is not the whole of the south-eastern hill, which is really the old Zion, but only the rising ground at the north-east end of it. Consequently, the expression of the chronicler (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14) is somewhat loose, and the passage must really mean that Manasseh "built a wall outside the City of David," but westward of the Virgin's Spring, which was continued through the valley of the Kidron, and ran as far as the approach to the fish-gate, and that he also surrounded Ophel with a high wall.

The royal palace, as we know, was on the temple-hill, and adjoined the temple itself; it would, therefore, have risen above the great tower, which was designed to defend the point where the temple-hill was separated from Ophel. The horse-gate, as we may gather from 2 Kings xi, 16; 2 Chronicles xxiii, 15; and Jeremiah xxxi, 40, was at the south-eastern extremity of the temple-hill. It was, in fact, the carriage-road into it, and Jeremiah implies that it was regarded as the northern boundary of the City of David, which, in future, the prophet declares, should become as holy as the temple-hill itself. It was to defend this gate that the great tower must have been built, the foundations of which seem to have been discovered by Colonel Warren.

As the horse-gate marked the southern commencement of the upper city, the wall to the north of it was naturally restored by the priests. The next gate was the east gate (verse 29), which is probably to be identified with the gate of Benjamin (Zech. xiv, 10), since the latter was opposite to the corner-gate on the western side, and was named from the fact that it opened into the territory of Benjamin. It no doubt lay below "the upper gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord" (Jer. xx, 2). At the extreme north-eastern corner of the temple-hill lived more Nethinim and merchants, who doubtless communicated by means of a street with those in the quarter called Maktesh. Here, apparently facing the north, was the gate of Miphkad, or "mustering."

The topography of the walls which I have thus endeavoured to extract from the account of their restoration given by Nehemiah, harmonises entirely with his description of the courses taken by the two choirs on the day when the walls were dedicated (Neh. xii). Here we are told that the first choir entered the city at the dung-gate, and then marching to the right made their way to the fountain-gate "which was over against them," and so "went up by the stairs of the City of David, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward." We may, perhaps, infer from this that the stairs began close to the fountain-gate. The other choir turned to the left, and accordingly passed "from beyond the tower of the furnaces even unto the broad wall: and from above the gate of Ephraim and above the old gate, and above the fish-gate and the tower of Hananeel and the tower of Meah, even unto the sheep-gate; and they stood still in the prison-gate." The prison-gate is not mentioned elsewhere, and is either the gate of Miphkad, or an otherwise unnoticed gate between the latter and the sheep-gate. It must have stood near the common prison, which was, of course, different from the court of the prison in the palace, which was intended for high-born offenders.

My paper would not be complete without a word or two on the hills surrounding the ancient Jerusalem which are alluded to in the Old Testament. As I have shown, "the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the giants on the north," must be either Bezetha or Akra, the valley of the giants being the northern border of the ancient Jerusalem. The Mount of Corruption, on which Solomon raised high-places to the deities of the

surrounding nations (2 Kings xxiii, 13), *may* have been the Mount of Olives, since there was an old high-place on the top of it (2 Sam. xv, 32), but it may also have been on the western side of the city. Gareb (Jer. xxxi, 39), which was over against Jerusalem on the side of the Tyropœon, must be the hill on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre now stands, and perhaps derived its name rather from Gareb the Ithrite, one of David's bodyguard, than from its "scabrous" appearance. Goah will be the district opposite to it on the eastern side of the city, and possibly denoted that part of the valley of the Kidron which lay to the north of the Virgin's Spring. The "king's dale" (2 Sam. xviii, 18; Gen. xiv, 17) ought to have been in the neighbourhood of the royal gardens.

A. H. Sayce.

I append a rough sketch-map, in order to illustrate my restoration of the topography of præ-exilic Jerusalem.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

I.

I suppose that the excavations which have been made within the last few weeks in Egypt will have turned the attention of many to a different point for the passage of the Israelites to that which has lately been advocated in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Society. I have felt for some time the difficulties connected with any route near to, or north of, Kantara; and I trust that very soon the matter will be much clearer to all who are interested in the truth of Biblical statements. When I went down the Suez Canal, and returned by it, some years ago, all I could say to myself was, that I *had* been over the spot where the Israelites crossed, but *where* that spot was I did not know. I hope that the discussion which has been proceeding will start from a new basis.

I start, therefore, by stating that I believe that the great debouching of the Israelites was not by way of Kantara, and the edge of the Mediterranean, but by way of Wâdy Tumilat, and the neighbourhood of Lake Timsah. The southern end of the land of Goshen ran up to the west of Wâdy Tumilat; the recent excavations at Tel-el-Maskhuta go to prove that Pithom and Raamses of Exodus i, 11, were at the eastern end of Wâdy Tumilat: the Wâdy Tumilat then must have been well known to the Israelites. I believe that when the command was given them to go forth out of Egypt they poured forth by Wâdy Tumilat. Thus doing they would be confronted by Lake Timsah. They would desire to turn northwards along its edge towards Kantara, the usual road to Syria, being also "the way of the land of the Philistines, which was near" (Exod. xiii, 17). But God did not desire that they should escape by that road; therefore, in Exodus xiv, 2, He bids them "turn." These two words, "near" and "turn," seem to give us two keynotes. Does not the first word, "near," point out that the escape was not from the northern end of Goshen by way of Kantara—for that would better be described as "direct," or as "directly

opposite"—but that rather it was by Wâdy Tumilat, which would rightly be called "near" to those who were at Lake Timsah? And does not the word "turn" just express the action of those who, being at Lake Timsah, were endeavouring to escape by its northern edge, but are now bidden to plunge into the difficulties that must meet them at the Red Sea?

In prehistoric times the river Nile must have poured the mud of Ethiopia into the Gulf of Suez by way of Wâdy Tumilat: this gulf would then be open, through the Bitter Lakes, up to Lake Timsah, if not further. In process of time the passage between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah would be silted up; and as the channel of the Nile in Wâdy Tumilat was shallow, that would also be silted up, leaving Lake Timsah as a deep depression of *fresh water*, and so still the "Lake of Crocodiles," as its name imports. From this mud of the Nile, in Wâdy Tumilat, the Israelites made their bricks for Pharaoh. The continuance of Lake Timsah would make the silting up between it and the Bitter Lakes to be but imperfect; hence *quicksands* would be naturally expected—indeed, when M. Lesseps was making his canal, "the Great Bitter Lake" was a morass full of reeds, and marsh plants, and the Arab name for it was "the Valley of Reeds." Thus we are led to expect the existence of a "Pi-hahiroth," *i.e.*, "the place of quicksands."

This, then, is the position of the Israelites: they have "turned" from their most ready means of escape from Egypt—thus doing they come upon "the quicksands of Pi-hahiroth;" south of them appear the Bitter Lakes, then forming the upper end of the Red Sea. They are indeed "entangled."

Their last "encampment" before crossing is "by the sea;" further excavations may give us the true positions of Migdol, and Baal-zephon. Possibly this "encampment" was near the junction of the greater and the lesser Bitter Lakes, and there the crossing was effected. What we require is (1) sufficient water to become "unto them a wall on their right hand and on their left;" (2) not too deep a depression for the Israelites to pass over easily with wives and children: where this spot is likely to be the soundings of the lakes must suggest.

Let me recommend on this subject the most interesting articles by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, on "Is Ramases II the Oppressor of Exodus?" contributed to "Knowledge," in 1882–3; the "Cities of Egypt," by Reginald S. Poole; "La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes," 3rd edition, by the Abbé Vigoureux.

ADAM CLARKE SMITH.

II.

MAY I be allowed to make two remarks on the papers which have appeared on this subject?

If, after the passage of the Yam Suph, the Israelites found themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean, it is very strange that no indication of that fact is to be found in the narrative.

2. If, after passing the Yam Suph, they crossed the "way of the land of the Philistines" a second time, and were again forbidden to follow it, we should have expected to find some notice of this second prohibition in Exodus xv.

September 17*th*, 1883. JOHN CYPRIAN RUST.

III.

WHENEVER the route of the Israelites after their encampment under Horeb is brought into notice, there spring up from many unexpected quarters questions which imperatively demand an answer. At such a time the loss occasioned by the premature deaths of men like Palmer, Holland, and Tyrwhitt Drake is sure to be felt. Just when criticism was beginning to demand greater accuracy and more methodical treatment in matters geographical and historical, their powers of observation were being trained into perfect efficiency. With them must have perished a mass of information of a special character, which had not been so thoroughly analysed and examined as to yield all the valuable metals it contained.

The journeyings of the Israelites from Egypt to Horeb have been well discussed by those who have personally examined the ground; and the survey by the English Ordnance Expedition in 1868–9 has done equally good work in settling many a disputed point, as in placing within easy reach of students a remarkably clear and accurate delineation of the country.

The superiority of the work done by travellers and inquirers of the Palmer school, in such a country as Arabia Petræa, is seen when one puts by its side the great achievements of even Burckhardt and Robinson, specially in the matter of correct nomenclature. To have secured the help of a linguist like Palmer, versed in all kinds of Arabic and Oriental literature, first in the survey of Sinai, and then in the exploration of the desert between Judæa and the Sinaitic Peninsula, was a piece of good fortune which will be appreciated more and more every day by those anxious to make more clear the Bible narrative.

In that book, what is the information given of the country and people through which the Israelites were to journey, and what is our present knowledge—or perhaps, rather, what is the value of the suggestions as yet made, as to the line which the Israelite march must have taken when they set forward to conquer the Promised Land? The land was surrounded by powerful nations, and these nations, in a state of development, were of necessity brought into contact with each other. Some day we may hope to discover Egyptian archives, which shall give a detailed account of the escape of the Israelite slaves in the time of Minepthah—just as we have now a contemporary illustrated history of the campaigns of the Egyptians, under the king who oppressed the Hebrews, against the Hittite Empire on the Orontes; or there may be a mine of Phœnician antiquities opened to us.

But what do we learn from the Hebrew book which has been so miraculously preserved to us—the Bible?

Abraham's history (Gen. xii–xxv, 10) is more full of geographical information than at first appears, while it introduces us to Hittites, Egyptians, Philistines, &c. Passing over the incidental description of Palestine contained in it, his journeyings take us to the Negeb, and so down to Egypt; to Bethel and Hebron; to Kadesh, the wilderness of Shur, Gera, and Beersheba; to Mesopotamia, Damascus, Syria, &c. The record of the raid of the combined kings from the Euphrates Valley, and the subsequent promise of the land from the river of Egypt (Wâdy el Arish) to the great river, the river Euphrates, makes us acquainted with the various peoples and tribes who then possessed the country which Ishmael's children and Esau's descendants subsequently received as an inheritance. Then, filling in many a little gap, we have the mission of Eliezer, his steward, to Mesopotamia, and also the incident of Hagar's wandering in the wilderness of Beersheba.

Of these records, the most important is that of the expedition of the combined kings. It was like a *Gôm* of modern times, and followed possibly the very route up Wâdy Jerâfeh, which is known now-a-days by the name "Sikket el Gom." The allies seem to have crushed first the Rephaim at Ashteroth Karnain (possibly the "Beit el Kurin" not far from Rabbath Moab); the Zuzim, their neighbours in Ham, Ham-mat, or Ainmah; and the Emim, or Anakim, a kindred people, in the plain of Kureitun (Kiriathaim), to the south-east of Kerah. Next they attacked the Horites, the cave-dwellers of Mount Seir, pursuing them down to the edge of the wilderness, as far as a well-known spot, "the Terebinth tree of Paran." At this point the expedition turned, and, taking the line which the natural formation of the country suggests, swept along below the Negeb, in the direction of Jebel Araif, up to 'Ain Mishpat, which is Kadesh (the fountain of judgment near the "Holy City"). They smote all the country of the Amalekites, and they also smote the Amorites, who were then dwelling on the famous route of invasion which the Moabites and Ammonites used in Jehosaphat's time at Hazazon Tamar ("the Felling of the Palm trees"), "which is Engedi" (Gen. xiv, 1; 2 Chron. xx, 2).

Moses's mention in this place of the Amalekites shows that he is describing the country as it was inhabited in his time. For in the time of Chedorlaomer there could have been no Amalekites, as they were descended from *Esau's* grandson, "Amalek;" while the country (the word used is Sádeh = "plateau") is clearly that tract of land known in Moses's time as "the country of the Amalekites," which was bounded on the one side by the Amorite possessions, and on the other by the Horites of Mount Seir.

The story of Hagar brings us into this same country. Abraham was sojourning at Gerar, between Kadesh and Shur (probably somewhere near Jebel and Wâdy Magháral, where Professor Palmer stayed on the occasion of his "great ride," at the camp of the Teyahah Sheikh Suleiman) when the ridicule of the son of the Egyptian bondwoman Hagar roused the spite and fury of Sarah. Hagar had once before run away from Sarah

into the wilderness on the way going to Shur, and had taken refuge by the fountain on the caravan route, afterwards called by the Hebrews Beer-lahai-roi, the locality being carefully given as between Kadesh and Bered, and which is supposed to be identified at the watering-place in Wády Muweileh. Her subsequent banishment with Ishmael took place in the wilderness of Beersheba. It is not likely that she went far from the encampment of Abraham, which had been moved further north than Gerar to Beersheba, seeing that the provisions supplied her by Abraham were only what she could carry. But we know that it was in the wilderness of Paran that she and Ishmael afterwards took up their abode, and that Egypt was so accessible that his mother took him a wife from among her own countrywomen. Abraham's Kadesh, and the wilderness of Kadesh, was certainly to the west of the Negeb, and was probably bounded by the rolling plain of Beersheba, and by the wilderness of Shur. I think Kadesh might be considered to be the southern boundary of the country through which Abraham pastured his flocks, as Beth-el might be placed for the northern limit. The city itself was possibly a Hittite shrine, for we known that there was a colony of Hittites settled at Hebron (Gen. xxiii), from whom Abraham bought Machpelah, and from whose daughters Esau, when he was forty years of age, took two wives, Judith and Bashemath. From a city so important the whole district round would take its name ; while the boundary lines between the wastes of Paran and Kadesh would be very carelessly defined.

As to the progress of the nomad Amalekites, who seem to have been the most warlike and aggressive of the descendants of Esau : in Moses's time we find them in the great valleys surrounding Jebel Serbal, to one of which we suppose they gave the name Paran (transformed by the Arabs into Teirán), in remembrance of their former home in the hilly country beyond the Tíh range ; and we find them posted with the Canaanites in the mountains which bordered, on the south and south-west, the lower part of the Promised Land—the Negeb. In David's time they invaded the Negeb of Judah and took Ziklag ; while in his concluding prophecy Balaam speaks of them as "the first of the nations" (Num. xxiv, 20).

It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that at the battle of Rephidim (which lasted a whole long day, and about which there was recorded on the commemorative altar, "Jehovah will have war with Amalek from generation to generation") the Amalekites were so routed as to be forced to retire from all the valleys and pastures south of the Tíh range. Westwards they could not go, because this was the celebrated mining district held by the Egyptians, while on the east were the Midianites. They would therefore be pushed into the northern desert of the Tíh and the mountains of Magráh, Helal, &c. The *terminus ad quod* of the Israelites after Horeb was the Mount of the Amorites. Their way led through the terrible wilderness to Kadesh Barnea, while the wilderness of Paran is mentioned as the scene of their most important encampment, after the celebrated encampment in the plain Er Rahah.

Before I try to make clear a probable route for the Israelites, and

before I make any comparison between the suggestions of Professor Palmer and Mr. Holland, it may be well to take notice of any traces left in buildings or nomenclature by (1) Amorite or (2) Amalekite. The hills to the west of the plateau of Jebel Magráh are very rich in prehistoric remains of every description, as well as in those which belong to Christian and historical times. There are also strange memorials in the names of valleys, headlands, &c.

1. The vestiges of the Amorites may be noted in—

Dheigat el 'Amerín ("ravine of the Amorites"), a valley cutting through the range of hills to the north of Sebaita.

Rás 'Amir ("peak or brow of the Amorite"), a chain of low mountains fifteen miles south-west of El Meshrifeh, very conspicuous on the road from the watering-place in Wâdy el Muweileh, and about twelve miles north-west of the fountain in Wâdy Gadís.

Sheikh el 'Amirí, the name attached to the mound of stones on the slope of Wâdy Abyadh, between El Anjeh and Ruhaibeh.

The mountains and wâdies with which such names are connected exhibit terraces laid out for cultivation, carefully constructed banks, and walls to resist the Seils, &c. In the presence of such works of so great antiquity, it may be argued that the people who raised them were either the old possessors of the land, or fancied themselves to have such hold of the land as to justify them in such expenditure of labour.

2. As to the Amalekite vestiges, note the appearance of this powerful people in the Bible. Like the Amorites they were highlanders; indeed, the term Amorite is often merely a descriptive term like Canaanite, Perizzite, or Hivite. Such a country as the Sinaitic Peninsula, the Negeb, and the hills to the west of the Negeb (the country which as yet has been so little explored), seems a natural home for them. At the time of the Exodus they occupied the Teirán Oasis, all the plain which rises from 'Ain Akhdar to Jebel et Tíh, and, as we may suppose, some part of the wild desert beyond, which was held in common possession with other tribes, termed descriptively Amorite, and must have been traversed by them when they left their home in the 'Arabah.

The prehistoric remains scattered over these districts are not all of the same character.

Professor Palmer notices a distinguishing difference between what he calls the Israelite remains at Erweis el Ebeirig, and remains in the same neighbourhood. One longs for some such clear evidence of their personality as was left by the Egyptians at Sarábít el Khádim, or Maghárah. All we have at present comes to this:—In the neighbourhood of Jebel Hadíd, a long day's journey south-east of the convent, Palmer and Holland examined the numerous remains which are seen there, and found them to be of two kinds. Suppose the beehive houses (which resemble the *bothan* of the Shetland Islands, and the *talayot* of the Balearic Islands) to have been an Amalekite village, we find others like them at the head of Wâdy el Biyár, where, scattered all over the rough open plain at the foot of

Jebel el Ejmeh, are also traces of dwellings in connection with the more primæval stone circles, or *dowârs*. In Wâdy Hebrán, at Teirán, and on the expanse above Wâdy Hudherah are more remains, as well as at the mouth of Wâdy Nisrín, where it joins Wâdy Teirán. Are these beehive houses Amalekite remains, or the remains of a previous people, or are we so to distinguish the one kind of village and cemetery from the other, as to say that the beehive houses belong to a people (perhaps Midianites) who occupied the land after the Israelite wave passed on northwards? Whichever way our conclusions incline, the land is found to have been capable of habitation, and to have presented some inducements to settlers.

I propose now to consider Mr. Holland's conclusions from his visit to the wilderness of Et Tíh in 1878. My own route in 1881–2 corresponded to some extent with his. At Erweis el Ebeirig, near the debouchure of Wâdy Sa'al, Mr. Holland turned north-east. Not satisfied with Palmer's identifications of Erweis el Ebeirig with Kibroth Hattaavah, and of 'Ain Hudherah with Hazeroth, he imagined for the Israelites a route which would have no inclination towards the sea, and proceeded to examine the pass Nagb Murrah, which leads over the lower range of Jebel et Tíh. He says that it is a difficult pass, and unsuitable for the passage of a large multitude. He also examined a pass leading up by Jebel Dhalal; and the pass Nagb el Múrád ("the Pass of the Watering-place"), which was first brought to notice by Drake and Palmer. This pass is not arduous, though winding and impracticable for wagons. There are some much frequented wells at El Biyár ("*the* wells"), about an hour from the base of Jebel Ejmeh, and there are wells in Wâdy Edeid, into which Wâdy el Biyár runs. In fact, in all this district underneath the southern and south-eastern ranges of the Tíh there is plenty of pasture and a fair amount of water.

Mr. Holland seems by chance to have come upon the Derb es Soûrah while tracing down Wâdy el Atiyeh to its junction with Wâdy Sowâin. My Arabs brought me from Wâdy el'Ain, after I had been down from Hudherah to the Gulf of Akabah, to Wâdy Soûrah. The cave with the pool of delicious water mentioned by Mr. Holland is exceedingly picturesque, and one almost expects to see at the bend of the valley a thriving Swiss village. The road which ascends from this point into the Tíh mountains is by no means steep, and might be adapted for heavy traffic. Looking back one has a splendid view over the peninsula, and realises better the incline of the whole district, which is so well described in the expression "going down to Egypt." The route from Derb es Soûrah leads north-east to Jebel el Herte, passing by a large Arab cemetery. Some four hours further on a road falls into it from Akabah, and my cameleer pointed out a stone with figures and signs cut on it which seemed like tribe marks, though they may have been ancient. One of the wâdies I traversed in this day's journey was called Wâdy el Butmeh ("the valley of the Terebinth"), and suggested to me the "Eil Paran" of Genesis xiv, 6 (translated in our version's margin "the plain of Paran," and written "Eil Paran.") From Jebel el Herte Mr. Holland journeyed some twenty-five miles north-eastward to Wâdy Meleg, which flows towards the 'Arabah. A raid of

the Haiwátt Arabs into the Maâzi country, to the north-east of 'Akabah, deterred him from proceeding much further than the watering-place in this wâdy. My own route did not bend so much to the east, and brought me in about two days' journey to the wells of Themed, a little south of the Hajj route, and almost midway between Nakhl and 'Akabah.

A few weeks later on Mr. Holland made an expedition, under the escort of eight Haiwát Arabs, from Wâdy el'Ain, a wâdy coming down from the west side of the plateau of Jebel Magráh (the Negeb) to 'Ain Gadís. He tried unsuccessfully to explore the southern face of the plateau of Jebel Magráh towards Jebel 'Araif and Wâdy Garaiyeh, but he opened out an important country between Jebel Helál and Ismailia, which would be the line of traffic from the East to Egypt when Petra was a commercial centre, or when the Negeb was a thickly inhabited and well-cultivated country, as we feel sure, from the remains so visible now on the surface of the ground, it must once have been. His road brought him to the wells "Emshâsh," and near to others called El Jidy, and through the midst of the Jebel Maghárah range. Between Jebel Yeleg and Jebel Maghárah runs to the north-east Wâdy Dow, the two mountain ranges stretching away to the westward. Jebel Maghárah, on one of whose slopes are some old round tombs, probably takes its name "Cave" from an arch (the supporting masonry still stands) which covered over the water-hole. Here are many Nawamis, and the remains of a square building, 30 feet by 20 feet, of roughly-hewn stones without mortar, besides twelve large watering troughs of rude masonry.

The whole surrounding country must be full of ancient remains. Mr. Holland found a number of flint-flakes, and some beautifully made arrow-heads, and says that wherever there were no sand-drifts the ancient road could be traced by these flint-flakes.

Professor Palmer's conclusions are given in chapter xi, volume ii, of "The Desert of the Exodus." The points he makes are :—

1. On leaving Sinai the children of Israel were conducted to some place whence they might make an attack on the idolatrous nations who barred their way to the Promised Land. Numbers x, 12 gives the general destination, the chapters following the detailed account of the journey.

2. The first permanent halting-place was Kibroth Hattaavah ("the graves of lust"). At Erweis el Ebeirig are seen the traces of the actual encampment, and the traveller may hear from his Arabs the tradition which gives life and meaning to those strange remains.

Hazeroth ("Enclosures") and Hudherah correspond in Semitic orthography, and in geographical position.

3. After Hazeroth we are told in Numbers xii, 16 that the people "pitched in the wilderness of Paran." In chapter xxxiii the stages of the journey are given. One of these is Ezion Gaber, which was at the head of the Elanitic Gulf. . . . "It is therefore certain that they took the route by 'Akabah, and did not enter the Tíh by any of the passes in the southern edge of the plateau." (Here I cannot follow Palmer. I think it was as easy for the Israelites to get to Ezion Gaber by Derb es Soûrah and the

neighbouring passes, and then by Jebel el Hertz, and a wâdy like Wâdy Meleg, as to take the shore route, with its steep cliffs, promontories, &c. At page 514 Palmer tells us that Ezion = the Arabic "Ghadyán" = "Diana" in Latin, which is one of the stations in the Pentinger Tables on the route from 'Akabah to Jerusalem, and distant from 'Akabah fourteen and one-third English miles. But his measurement from Contellet Garaiyeh, which he proposed to identify with the Gypsaria of the Pentinger Tables, seems to be erroneous, since by the Tables the distance between Haila or 'Akabah and Gypsaria is forty-three miles, whereas on the map, in a straight line, it is about fifty-six miles. The only way to reconcile such a variation seems to be either to suppose the distances through the desert to be inaccurate on the Tables, or to put Elath or Haila some miles further north than the present fort of 'Akabah, and the Roman station Diana in Wâdy Ghadyán, instead of at the very spot where the port of Ezion may have stood; or, giving up the identification of Contellet Garaiyeh with Gypsaria, to place that station on the southern bank of Wâdy Garaiyeh.)

4. The wilderness of Zin must be the south-east corner of the desert of Et Tíh, between 'Akabah and the head of Wâdy Garaiyeh. The name "wilderness of Kadesh," though properly applicable to the plain in front of the cliff in which 'Ain Gadís rises, might have been extended in its application to the whole district. The wilderness of Paran comprised the whole Bádiet et Tíh, and Mount Paran is the lower portion of the mountain plateau in the north-east, known now as Jebel Magráh, below which, on the western side, is 'Ain Gadís, and Kadesh itself, situated on the plain by which most easily the Amorite mountains would be reached.

5. The Israelites, being encamped in the plain at the foot of the cliffs in which 'Ain Gadís takes its rise, were to march into Palestine by the easy route which skirts the western edge of the mountains. The spies were sent out from Kadesh, making a detour by way of the mountains of the Negeb, and striking into the heart of the plateau at Wâdy Ghamr; they were to search the land, and to return by the western route. They brought their grapes, pomegranates, and figs from some of the vineyards and gardens which one comes across in the country immediately above Wâdy Muweilih, and not from the valley of Hebron, some sixty miles distant.

6. In the mountain north-east of Wâdy Hanein, a locality where we find the Amorite name preserved in Dheigat el 'Amerín, Rás 'Amir, and Sheikh el 'Amirí, &c., the forces of the Amorites were doubtless concentrated, guarding the road to the Promised Land, *viâ* Rehoboth, as well as that which led through the centre of the mountains of the Negeb towards 'Ara'rah, the Aroer of Judah (a city to which David, after his victory over the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx, 28), sent a share of the spoil, and towards the rich pasture country of the Canaanite, the King of Arád, marked now by Tell 'Arád.

7. In Deuteronomy i, 2, he finds a clear indication of the direction of the route of the Israelites. Moses is about to give the Israelites some account of the wanderings of "the forty years' punishment." He clears the ground at starting by saying, "There are eleven days' journey from

Horeb, *by way of Mount Seir*, to Kadesh Barnea." Though we have been so long on the way, keep before your mind that to the ordinary traveller the route was plain and direct. To reach Mount Seir *we* made twenty separate encampments before Ezion Gaber was reached. Water and pasturage and open camping-grounds had to be taken into consideration, as I foresaw when I pressed Hobab the Midianite, naturally well acquainted with valleys, &c., in the eastern portion of the peninsula, to act as our guide. But ours was an exceptional case.

8. The fertile portion of the Negeb is bounded by Wâdy Marreh, Wâdy Maderah, Wâdy el Abyadh, &c. The mountains to the south of these wâdies and the southern plateau of Jebel Magráh, through which the Israelites passed unopposed, was a sort of neutral ground between the Edomites on the east, and their kinsmen the Amalekites and other allied tribes on the west, who are spoken of in 1 Samuel xxvii, 8 as being "of old the inhabitants of the land as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." This land had previously been inhabited by the Avim (Deut. ii, 23), "which dwelt in Hazerim ('pastoral enclosures,' as at Hudherah, the *dowars* and stone circles so common in the district) even unto Azzah ('Gaza')." Edom proper, Mount Seir of Deuteronomy, is a narrow slip of country, for the most part mountainous, but very fertile, extending northward from the head of the Elanitic Gulf as far as Wâdy Kereh, the southern boundary of Moab. The eastern hills and terraces of the plateau of Et Tíh form its western boundary, and the Hajj route from Damascus to Mecca its eastern boundary.

9. There is no possibility of reconciling the passes in Deuteronomy and Numbers, either with each other or with the actual topography of the country, unless we place the wilderness of Kadesh Barnea in the desert south of the pass into the hill country round Meshrifeh and Sebaita—in the cliffs above which desert is 'Ain Gadís. Moses says (Deut. i, 7) that the mount of the Amorites is the goal of their journey from Horeb, and in verses 19 and 20 he says: "We came, having passed through the great and terrible wilderness" (words probably inapplicable to the lower Arabah when Ezion at the mouth of Wâdy Ghadyán was a port, and the terminus of a commercial road leading both to Egypt and to the Philistine country), "to Kadesh Barnea. And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites, which the Lord our God doth give unto us." Kadesh, in Numbers xx, 1, is spoken of as being in the wilderness of Zin—just as Meribah Kadesh, in Deuteronomy xxxii, 51, the scene of the great transgression of Moses and Aaron, is also described as being in the wilderness of Zin. It is from that point—Kadesh of the wilderness of Paran, or of Zin (Num. xii, 16; xiii, 21, 26)—that the Israelites went up presumptuously to the hill-tops, and were smitten by the Amalekites and Canaanites.

10. Between the defeat at Hormah and the re-assembling of the people at Kadesh, the well-known sanctuary of another nation, is a gap of thirty-eight years, in which only a few incidents are recorded. They were the years of the penal wanderings of God's people, sunk now to the level of a

mere nomad tribe. But from Kadesh, in the fortieth year, they set out under God's direction, a new people, into the wilderness of the Red Sea (the route which led down to Ezion Gebir and Elath), in order to compass the territory of the Edomites, through which they had been refused passage, and to pass up by the eastern desert towards Moab and the Jordan fords. That the rallying point was Kadesh goes some way to prove that they could not have penetrated into the eastern desert before, for in that case the natural rendezvous for a nation wanting to reach the ford of Jordan would have been to the east of Edom, while had Kadesh been north of the watershed of the Arabah, there would have been a necessity for asking passage through a portion of the territory of Edom to reach it, both now and on their first visit.

11. The attack by the Canaanite, the King of Arád, is to be taken as an episode in the march of the Israelites, while they were encamped in the Arabah, near Mount Hor, and were waiting for the return of the messengers sent from Kadesh to the King of Edom,—just as the expedition against Midian (Num. xxxi, 1, 12) must have been an episode of their sojourn in the plains of Moab.

12. In Numbers xxi we have an account of the journey after the Edomite refusal was known. Its direction is first southwards to the head of the gulf, and then by Wâdy Ithm on to the road to Moab which runs between Edom and the limestone plateau of the Great Eastern desert.

The difficulty about the itinerary of Numbers xxxiii, if Palmer's view be adopted, that it gives the details of the various stages from Horeb to Kadesh, seems to me to consist in the minute account of the stations between Horeb and Ezion Gaber, and the omission of any between Ezion and Kadesh. The only explanations which in any way satisfy one are, that the Israelites took an unusual course to get to Ezion, or that they marched in several detachments by various routes, and so the several camping-grounds of the detachments are mentioned.

Ezion Gaber, at the head of the gulf, was geographically the most important point in their journey. Thence to Kadesh was a frequented road used by the merchant caravans. Palmer seems here to have got confused. He says that he has no doubt whatever as to the general direction of the Israelites' journey: he reminds us that the wind in Numbers xi, 31 brought the quails from the sea, as though the people were moving towards the sea rather than directly northwards to the rolling plain beyond 'Ain Akhdhar; and he believed that all, or at least a portion, of the unidentified names may be recovered in the district north-east of 'Ain Hudherah and south-west of the 'Azázimeh mountains. He then mentions Rissah as probably identical with the "Rasa" of the Pentinger Tables, sixteen Roman miles from "Diana" (Ezion); Haradah with Jebel 'Arádeh, at whose base runs the great Wâdy el 'Ain of the Hudherah district; Tahath with Wâdy Elt'hí, the connecting wâdy between Wâdies Hudherah and El 'Ain; Heshmonah with Heshmon, one of the frontier cities of Judah in the Negeb, towards the coast of Edom. These identifications *quite* throw out of gear the continuous itinerary of Numbers xxxiii, 16–36.

It is noticeable that many of these names of the stations are taken (as is the case with the Arabic names in use to-day) from features in the landscape, *e.g.*, from the strange formation of a cliff, from a conspicuous tree, from the presence of water, &c. And this would account, then as now, for the confusing recurrence of the same name in distinct, though not far off, districts. But such a record of certain journeyings as that given in Deuteronomy x, 6, 7, precludes this fact from being urged to support the theory that we are reading of two different periods of the great journey of the Israelites.

There is another view of the itinerary of Numbers xxxiii. It is set forth by Bishop Wordsworth in his Commentary. The itinerary, according to this view, is to be divided into four periods:—

First period (verses 5 to 15)—from Rameses to Horeb.
Second period (verses 16 and 17)—from Horeb to Hazaroth, and (supplying verse 16, Numbers xii) so to Kadesh Barnea.
Third period (verses 18 to 36)—from Kadesh Barnea the first time, to Kadesh Barnea the second time, a period described very briefly in Deuteronomy i, 46.

Fourth period (verses 37 to 49)—from Kadesh to the plains of Moab.

With this careful division, however, we get into confusion again with Deuteronomy x, 6, 7. *There* a journey is described with much precision. It starts from the watering-places of the great Beni-Jaakan tribe to Mosera (the well-known place—the historian says—where Aaron died and was mourned for thirty days), then to Gudgodah (Hor-hagidgad), and then to the district of Jotbath, which, after the wilderness, seemed a land of rivers of water.

In Numbers we have Mosera first, then Beni-Jaakan, then Gudgodah, then Jotbath. Of course there may be an easy way out of the difficulty, but it is hardly fair to say that in the one passage the first journey is described with its continuous and regularly appointed march, and in the other, with all the appearance (except in proper topographical sequence) of a regular succession of the proper stages of a journey, the capricious movements of a wandering people through a long stretch of years.

Such stations as Rithmah, Rimmon-Parez, Zibnah, Makheloth, Mithcah, Ebronah, might be anywhere in a district whose valleys are named merely from the existence of water, or of pasture, or of a single tree. Still, that four of the stations of this third period should be mentioned together in another record, which is describing the journeyings of another period, rather goes to negative the view that in this third period some of the stations of the penal wanderings are being given.

The prehistoric remains in the peninsula, in the Badiet et Tíh, in the Negeb, and in Jebel Magráh, furnish a proof that the whole country must have presented a very different aspect to the Israelites from what it now presents. The discovery, too, of such roads from the district under the Et Tíh range to the plateau and plains above, as Nagb el Mírád, Derb es Soûrah, and one still more to the north-east, shows that the access to the

Promised Land from the peninsula may have been easier than was supposed by Biblical students of a past generation.

Kadesh Barnea was the destination of the Israelites, and, as Palmer points out, drawing his inference from the strangely placed passage in Deuteronomy i, 2, "by the Mount Seir route." This probably meant by the 'Arabah. But if the Elanitic Gulf had its head at Ezion, near the mouth of Wâdy Ghadyán, it would be more natural for a large caravan bound for Ezion to make its journey inland than to take the seashore course, by striking it at the debouchure of Wâdy el 'Ain or Wâdy Wettîr. I am myself convinced that such a route from Hudherah (even if it were shown that Wâdy Elt'hí, between Wâdies Hudherah and El 'Ain, is not open enough for the passage of a large multitude) is quite practicable. It would make its first station at the lower water of Wâdy el 'Ain, and its next at the base of Jebel 'Aradeh, where is a fine open plain, rich in prehistoric remains. It would follow up the easy wâdies which pass the spring water at Soûrah, and lie near the upper waters of El 'Ain to the road—"Derb es Soûrah"—and so to the uplands of the eastern portion of the Tíh range. Though I was bound for the well Themed (my Arabs pronounced the word "Summed") on the Hajj route from Nakhl to Arabah, I could, from several points of view, survey the country stretching towards the 'Arabah. I imagine that no special difficulties would present themselves before reaching the western slopes of that great valley, and the point where I suppose Ezion to have been situated. A "terrible wilderness" is this portion of the country, but there are five known wells to the south of the Hajj route, and many watering-places, with much water after rain. From the numerous groups of Nawámís, and from the cairns or beacons one comes across, it is reasonable to suppose that this strange tract once possessed more life than now, and was more frequently traversed.

The route I followed from the well at Themed avoided Nakhl altogether; and I think it pursued the line which the Roman road, whose stations are given on the Pentinger Tables, took from Elusa to Diana. Except in the want of water between Themed and Muweileh (twenty-eight hours), the route involves no excessive fatigue or hardship. Jebel Muweileh and the 'Ain, which is supposed to be Hagar's well, "between Kadesh and Bered," lie more to the west than 'Ain Gadís, but so near (about twelve miles) that the wâdy, which is wide and open, might be included in the wilderness of Kadesh.

In conclusion, I would observe that I don't see why Palmer lays such stress on "Hudherah" being "Hazeroth" of Numbers xi, 35. Hazeroth (Hazerim = "pastoral enclosures") was a very general term, and would apply to many of the prehistoric remains below the Tíh range. It may be a mere chance which has preserved the name in the word "Hudherah." On the other hand "Hudherah" is a beautiful oasis, and presents every attraction for the encampments of a multitude of people.

Palmer says, at the commencement of the story of his travels: "The scenes of the Exodus took place undoubtedly in that desert region—Arabia

Petræa. This includes, besides the Sinaitic Peninsula, the Bádiet et Tíh (literally signifying 'the desert of the wanderings'), and some portion of Idumæa and Moab.

"The desert of Et Tíh is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea and the mountains of Judah; on the west by the Isthmus of Suez; and on the east by the 'Arabah, that large valley or depression which runs between the Gulf of 'Akabah and the Dead Sea."

Of Jebel el Magráh he says: "The mountain plateau in the north-east of the Tíh is full of interest. . . . It is about seventy miles in length, and from forty to fifty miles broad, commencing at Jebel 'Araif, and extending northward by a series of steps or terraces to within a short distance of Beersheba. . . . It projects into the Tíh, much in the same way as the Tíh projects into Sinai, and, like it, also terminates in steep escarpments towards the south, falling away to a lower level on the south-eastern side. On the west it is chiefly drained by two main valleys, Wâdy Garaiyeh and Wâdy el Abyadh, which ultimately combine their streams, and, flowing into Wâdy el 'Aríish, are carried on to the Mediterranean. On the east Wâdy Ghamr and Wâdy Marreh receive the greater part of the water-supply, and bear it down to the 'Arabah into the Dead Sea. This mountain plateau is the Negeb, or "south country," of the Bible. The watershed of the 'Arabah on its eastern limit is some twenty-five or thirty miles more to the south than the southern boundary of the Magráh plateau.

C. Pickering Clarke.

Thornham, Eye,
August 28*th*, 1883.

LARGE MILLSTONE ON THE SHITTIM PLAIN.

Speaking of certain peculiar stones in the part of Moab examined by Captain Conder he says: "The stone is yet more remarkable: it lies in the Ghor south of Kefrein, beside a thorn tree; it is 10½ feet in diameter, and 3 feet 6 inches thick, being far too large and heavy ever to have been used as a millstone. It is pierced by a cylindrical hole in the middle, 2 feet in diameter. The Arabs call it *Mensef Abu Zeid* ("the dish of Abu Zeid"), and relate that this mythical hero here sacrificed a whole camel which he gave as a feast to the local Arabs when he was about to leave the Ghor" (*Quarterly Statement*, April 1882, p. 74).

This is the same stone which I examined early in 1876, and of which I gave an account in my report to the American Society, which was published in the winter of 1876–7. In my volume "East of the Jordan," p. 231, after having spoken of the dolmens in this vicinity, which Conder has since described, I say, "about half-way between these two places (*i.e.*, Tell Ektanu and Tell el Hammam) I found an immense circular stone lying

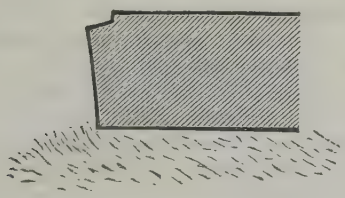
on the top of the ground ; it is 11 feet 4 inches in diameter and 44 inches thick."

Now a difference of 10 inches in the diameter of a stone of this size is considerable, and a similar remark may be made of the difference in our measurements of its thickness, although that is not so remarkable. Hence I ask myself "can I have been mistaken in my measurements?"

In April of the present year I spent nearly ten days east of the Jordan, and took occasion to revisit the stone in question, and to make accurate measurements of it. I found the diameter to be exactly as I had given it, 11 feet 4 inches. The thickness, however, cannot be so accurately determined, owing to the fact that the upper surface of the stone is uneven, and portions of the edge have been badly chipped ; besides, one side of the stone is a little thicker than the other, varying from 3 feet 4 inches plump to 3 feet 8 inches scant.

Two interesting facts connected with the stone remain to be mentioned. I noticed that it appeared to flare a little from the bottom towards the top, and upon measuring I found the circumference at the bottom to be 34 feet 7 inches, and at the top to be 35 feet 8 inches, making a difference of 13 inches.

The other fact is that around the outer edge of the upper surface there was a border about 5 inches in width, as seen in the accompanying cut.



Around this border a curb of wood was fastened tightly to the stone. This curb would be 1 or 2 feet high, according as necessity required, and thus the entire surface of the stone would be left free for the crushing of whatever the mill was designed for. Millstones arranged as now described with a border and a curb of wood are still in use in the country at the present day. All the indications seem to me to point to the inevitable conclusion that this particular stone was designed for a millstone and for nothing else.

On the same page (p. 74), Captain Conder describes certain "disk-stones," one of which is 6 feet in diameter and the other is 9 feet 6 inches in diameter, which "are much like millstones in appearance." "Their great size," he says, "and the absence of any remains of a foundation or other parts of a mill in their vicinity, is, however, a reason for regarding them as having some other purpose." These stones have "no hole in the centre."

Millstones that are brought to market at the present day are not always perforated by a hole in the centre, and as to the size of these stones

being an objection to their having been designed for millstones, it is sufficient to say that stones larger than the largest of these two are still in use in the country as millstones.

An American who visited this region some years since appears to have seen and described these identical stones. He asserts that on account of their size, and because they have no hole in the centre, they could never have been designed for millstones, and his antiquarian zeal leads him to see in them mysterious "solar disks," connected with the worship of Baal. But this same gentleman is famous in Palestine for having "discovered" a lot of "rude stone monuments of a high antiquity," "connected with early Phœnician worship." He even points out what part was "employed for the fire of wood or coals" and "where the victim was laid across." It turned out, however, that these were nothing but old oil presses, which even his elaborate description could not change into ancient altars.

SELAH MERRILL.

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED CHURCH.

THE work of excavation at the newly-discovered church north of the Damascus-Gate, has been carried so far since Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell made their brief reports in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1882, pp. 116–120, that it needs to be described again. The ruin has proved to be one of great extent, and of special interest.

The way in which it was brought to light is worth recording. In an uneven field, which rose considerably above the land about it, parts of which appearing, indeed, like little hillocks, the owner of the soil tried to maintain a vegetable garden, but the ground was so dry that neither grain nor vegetables would flourish, and even irrigation did little or no good; besides, here and there large holes appeared in the ground which could not be accounted for. At last the owner determined to dig and see what there was below the surface of his field, and to his surprise he very soon came upon fine walls and a pavement. The excavations being followed up have laid bare a church with some of the surrounding buildings.

The amount of *débris* which had accumulated above the floor of these buildings was 10 to 20 feet in depth. To remove this mass of earth has required much time and labour, and the work is not yet completed.

The piece of ground in question has about 60 yards frontage on the main road (see the plan of this section in *Quarterly Statement*, April 1882, p. 119), and extends, so far as the excavations go, about the same distance back from the road, that is, to the east.

The church itself is situated on the south side of this plot, and is very near the street. The ground in front of the church is paved with fine slabs of stone, on one of which is the inscription given by Lieutenant Mantell on page 120. The steps by which the church was entered were 5 feet wide, but the doorway itself was somewhat wider. From the

entrance to the altar-step, or platform, the distance is 55 feet, and from that point to the back of the apse 15 feet 6 inches; the width of the apse is 16 feet 6 inches. The width of the church is 24 feet 6 inches. 9 feet in front of the altar-step a wall has been thrown across the church, in a manner similar to that in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. This wall, also those of the church, of which several courses remain, and the interior of the apse, show that the building was originally painted, and some of the figures and designs can still be traced.

At the south-east corner of the church, leading from the apse, there is a narrow but well-built passage-way to the buildings in the rear. The character of these buildings is not very evident; certainly they did not stand on a line with the church, but at an angle of 25° with that line. Between the church and what appears now to have been the main building in the rear, there was a passage not over 3 feet wide; this passage and the one at the south end of the apse had been reached when Lieutenant Mantell made his report. The main building in the rear of the church is 47 feet 6 inches long, but to this must be added 20 feet more of a special room which seems to have belonged to it, and which had a beautiful mosaic pavement.

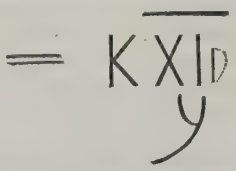
Thus the extreme length from the entrance of the church to the (present) east side of this mosaic floor is 140 feet.

On the west side of this mosaic floor, where it joins the wall of the main building, there is a threshold of a single stone 9 feet 6 inches long, with a step 6 feet 9 inches in the clear. This is considerably wider, it will be seen, than the steps, and even the entrance of the church. Several patches of mosaic pavement have been found, but in one place two or three square yards have been preserved, enough to show that the work was extremely beautiful. The coloured tracings resemble those in the church on the Mount of Olives, and on one side are the large Greek letters ΘΕΟΥ.

North of this mosaic floor, and of the main building which joins it, and running alongside of both, there is a watercourse or channel cut in the solid rock, which has been levelled to accommodate the buildings above. This can be traced in an east and west line for a distance of 37 feet; it is 2 feet 3 inches deep, 20 inches wide at the top, and 12 at the bottom. From about the middle of the mosaic floor this channel turns a right angle and runs 20 feet or more (so far as I could trace it) to the north; it is possible that it led *from* the north, and at the point indicated turned a right angle and ran to the west. Piles of stones and *débris* prevent us at present from deciding as to the length of the channel or where it came from.

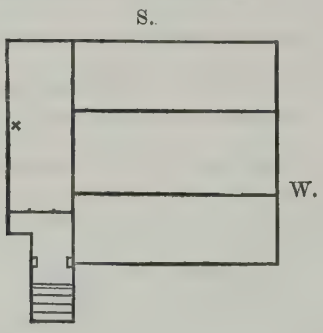
In the bank of *débris*, which rises on the east side of the mosaic floor to a height of 20 feet, there is, about 6 feet above the floor, a watercourse formed of cement, running north and south at right angles to the line of the church and the other buildings, which must have belonged to a much later period. In fact—and this is an interesting circumstance—the mosaic pavement appears to extend under and beyond this canal and the mass of *débris* which is yet to be removed.

In the north-west corner of the room where the mosaic floor is found, very near the angle (already mentioned) of the rock-cut channel, there is a tomb about 6 feet below the surface or level of the floor. The tomb is 10 feet long and 9 feet wide, and is entered by a doorway 26 inches wide, which is well built, and in the sides of which are grooves for a door to slide up and down. On the wall of the tomb at the east end there is a raised Greek cross, 22 inches long and 13 inches wide. At the left of the horizontal bar of the cross are the following letters or characters :—



Each letter is 5 inches in length. They are deeply cut, and the bar above them extends from the cross to the small character at the end. There appears to be something where I have made the dotted line, but it is not so deeply cut as the rest, and being very near the end of the cross-bar of the cross it may never have been designed as a part of a letter. The short verticle bar of the last character is cut as deep as the rest.

The following is the ground plan of the tomb :—



× Cross at this point.

One cannot stand erect in its highest part, but it is to be considered that the loculi are two-thirds full of *débris*, composed chiefly of decayed bones and bits of glass. Those in charge of the excavations have not, up to the present time, allowed the tombs to be cleared out. The loculi are 2 feet in depth.

What Captain Conder (p. 116) speaks of as "vaults north of the church," turn out to be the tops of houses. They are four in number, each 75 feet long by 28 feet wide, and faced the street. They were divided (one or two of them at least) into apartments by means of arches. The

lower courses of the walls, to the height of several feet, are of squared stones, while the upper portions and the roofs are of rubble work, which was covered with a heavy coating of plaster. The threshold of one has been exposed, which is 6 feet in the clear, and the sides of the doorway show excellent work.

Among the ruins there are two sections of marble columns, each 33 inches in diameter; but where they belonged in the original structure, or whether they belonged to it at all, I cannot say.

Three large cisterns have been found, two of which were nearly full of water; the mouths of these, which were closed, were many feet below the surface of the ground before the excavations began, hence no one knows how old the water in them may be.

Some of the slabs with which the church was paved were 6 feet long by 2½ wide.

In the church two pieces of cornice were found, each 8 feet in length. One is entire and quite plain, while the other is broken in the middle. It is upon this that the figures of Christ and His twelve Apostles were painted. They can still be traced, although exposure has nearly obliterated the colours.

Pottery and a considerable quantity of broken glass have been found, and some small articles in marble of no great value. The top of a certain block of marble has been formed into a basin, and a hole drilled the entire length of the block for the water to run off.

South of the mosaic floor and of the east end of the main building there is a large underground chamber with seven openings (each the size of a man's body) to the surface. The chamber is 12 feet wide and nearly 20 feet long, but the depth is not yet ascertained, owing to the accumulation of *débris* on the bottom. On the west and north sides a wall of solid rock appears to a depth of 6 feet, showing that the chamber was excavated in part at least in the solid rock. The use of this chamber does not appear evident, unless it may have been a store-room. The place within the city shown as "Peter's Prison" consists of a similar chamber (not dug in the solid rock however), with similar openings in the ceiling, or roof.

I have already hinted that the ruins extend under ground some distance to the east of the mosaic floor, and efforts are being made to purchase the land in that direction, in order to allow of the excavations being extended there. It is almost equally certain that the buildings extended to the south and south-east of the present plot of ground. But the owners of the land are jealous and everybody is superstitious; consequently excavations must be abandoned, or move with aggravating slowness.

With regard to the inscription on the slab in the pavement in front of the church, given by Lieutenant Mantell, page 120, I have little new to add to what he has said. I have submitted copies to different scholars, but do not know that it has yet been satisfactorily read. In the copy given by Mantell, the first two letters in the fourth line need correction. Of the first, only about one-third of the upper right-hand portion of the letter is

perfect on the stone ; the second shows an O quite perfectly. As the left-hand edge of this stone is true, and perfect with the exception of some chippings at the lower corner, this slab can easily have joined another at the left, and thus have formed the right-hand end of a long inscription.

Note.

Since writing the above I have visited the church again, as I have done many times during the year past. The west wall of what I have called the "main building," towards the apse of the church, has been removed and the floor cleared, exposing a fine pavement. This pavement, the threshold before mentioned, and the mosaic floor all belong to one period, and to a structure very much older than the date of the "main building." It puzzled me because the threshold west of the mosaic floor was not square with the east wall of the "main buildings," but the reason is now clear. Captain Conder (p. 116) says of this church, with such of the ruins about it as were exposed when he was here, that "the whole is evidently of the Crusading period." As regards the church itself this to me is not so clear, and the mosaic floor especially I would carry back many centuries previous to that era.

At the south side of the floor of the "main building" a new mouth to the largest cistern has been discovered ; over the mouth there is a thick stone 5 feet in diameter. This was eight-sided, and was built against the wall, so that five sides are exposed. The stone was cut in such a way as leave on two of its sides small brackets shaped like the two halves of the utensil called a "tunnel."

It may be of interest to state that this piece of land was offered for sale a few years since, and for a long time went a-begging for a purchaser ; at last it was sold for 40 napoleons. During the present year it has passed into the hands of the French for 2,000 napoleons.

Selah Merrill.

THE BITUMEN OF JUDEA.

An investigation of the nature of this natural product of Judea and the Dead Sea has been made by M. B. Delachanal, who has communicated his results to the French Academy of Sciences. It is employed in Palestine as an insecticide on the vines, and hence the recent attention it has attracted in France, where *savants* are still engrossed with the problem of fighting the phylloxera. Some kilogrammes of the bitumen were procured from the French Consul at Jerusalem by M. de Lesseps, and on this M. Delachanal has operated. He finds the presence of a considerable quantity of sulphur in its composition. It is a deep brown colour, nearly black, and of a friable nature. It contains 27 per cent. of oil, which is nearly colourless, and of the nature of petroleum. A solid paraffin can also be extracted from it. The rest of these experiments is that the bitumen of Judea, if it

prove efficacious as an insecticide, may also be turned to good account by the manufacturing chemist in the production of sulphur and illuminating oils. The presence of sulphur in its composition appears to assign to it a mineral, not organic origin.

THE HOLY ANOINTING OIL.

To the Editor of the Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement.

Sir,—Captain Conder's note on this subject (1883, p. 102) emboldens me to conclude that my doubts were well founded; otherwise he would certainly have pointed out some further proof of their authenticity.

I should like to say, however, that in my copy of the "Handbook to the Bible" (that of 1879), at page 105, there is really nothing to show that the statement I quoted was not that of the authors themselves, and even in the second paragraph, at the beginning of which the "Comment of Maimonides" is mentioned, it is the "mode of preparation" which he is said to "detail," and there is nothing to show precisely that Maimonides is responsible for the statement that "the Holy Oil failed in the reign of King Josiah."

Now that these assertions are attributed to that author, I think I may fairly expect Captain Conder to allow that, however "careful" an "authority" Maimondes may be, he should not be believed in opposition to the seemingly precise statement of the Hebrew Scriptures in the passages which I quoted (2 Kings xxiii, 30, and 1 Chronicles ix, 30).

Yours obediently,

June 25th, 1883. H. B. S. W.

PILLAR, OR GARRISON?

To the Editor of the Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement.

Sir,—I think it will be as difficult for Rev. W. F. Birch to maintain that the "garrison" (A.V.) which 1 Samuel xiii, 3 and 4 tells us Jonathan smote, *could not* be a boundary stone or pillar, as for Captain Conder to show that it is at all *probable* that it was such a pillar that is spoken of throughout chapter xiv.

Three words are used, and though different, are so allied that two of them are in other cases rendered "garrison," "pillar," "image," &c.

May we not, however, succeed in reconciling both views?

At any rate it seems clear that the actual signification must be sought in the context in each case, remembering that the root idea in all appears to be something "set up" or "placed" in a particular spot.

We use the word "post" as meaning not only a wooden or iron "post" or pillar, but also of a military "post"—outpost or garrison.

Evidently the common idea is that of something placed in a certain position, *there to remain*, whether by inertness of matter in the former case, or by faithful attention to duty of those engaged, in the latter.

Considering, then, that in Genesis xix, 26, Lot's wife is said to have been turned into "a נְצִיב" (pillar) "of salt," it cannot be impossible that the same word in 1 Samuel x, 5 might signify a (boundary) *pillar*, of the same nature, and perhaps even actually the same as that which Lieutenant Conder supposed to have been the subject of the attack by Jonathan recorded in xiii, 3 and 4, where the word again occurs, and the "smiting" of which was the cause of the eruption of the Philistines recorded in the rest of the chapter.

But, on the other hand, in xiii, 23, where מֻצָּב is used, and the verse reads, "the garrison of the Philistines *went out* to the passage of Michmash," the expression can hardly be used of a boundary stone. In the next chapter (xiv), where this word is used throughout, except in verse 12, its meaning in verses 1 and 4 would be uncertain, but that they evidently refer to the same object of Jonathan's attention as is mentioned in verses 6, 11, and 12. In verse 12 מַצֵּבָה is used, and this in other places is translated *pillar* sixteen times and *image* nineteen.

If a stone were meant, the words of Jonathan in verse 6, "there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few," would have no reference to their immediate object, though it might be supposed that he was thinking of the remoter consequences of his proposed act, but for verse 8 where he continues, "we will pass over unto these *men* and *discover* ourselves unto them," followed by verse 11, where we are told that "both of them *discovered* themselves unto the *garrison*," by the "*men*" of which (verse 12) they were "*answered*" in a way which showed that "the Lord hath *delivered them* into their hand" (verses 10 and 12). *Here* a Philistine outpost is evidently meant.

Yours obediently,

June 25th, 1883. H. B. S. W.